







THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART  
THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN ART

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

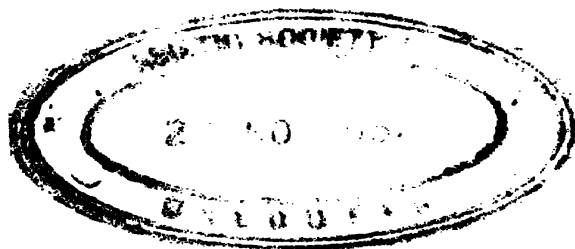
EDITED

WITH TRANSLATION, COMMENTARY, AND INDEXES  
TOGETHER WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

A. ARTHUR SCHILLER, M.A., J.D.

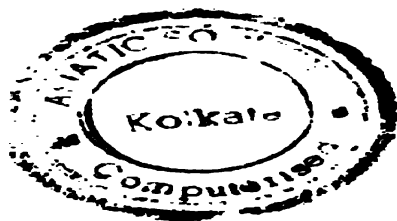
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## PREFACE

The Coptic papyri contained in this volume are the most important legal texts from Jēme (Thebes) that have come to light since the publication in 1912 of the corpus of Jēme papyri by Dr. Walter E. Crum. The present work began as an edition of four papyri in the possession of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, all concerned to some extent with the monastery of Apa Paulos near Jēme, but later, at the suggestion of Dr. Crum, there were added to them a British Museum papyrus relating to the same monastery, two texts from the same region belonging to the University of Leipzig, two others belonging to The John Rylands Library, Manchester, and a leather document in the possession of Dr. Crum.

I wish to express my indebtedness to The Metropolitan Museum of Art for placing the first four of these documents at my disposal and for undertaking the publication of this volume. To Dr. Ludlow Bull I am particularly grateful for help and suggestions in the editing of my manuscript. I wish also to thank Mr. H. Guppy of The John Rylands Library, Manchester, Dr. G. Steindorff of the University of Leipzig, and the authorities of the British Museum for permission to publish the papyri of those institutions. Above all, I most sincerely thank Dr. Walter E. Crum for his great interest in this work, for copies of the texts not in New York which he furnished to me, for permission to publish the document in his possession, and for his invaluable aid in the reading and translation of the papyri.

At the start, the last six texts were edited from Dr. Crum's copies; later I had the opportunity of personally reading the originals of all but two of the texts. The work was completed in October, 1929. Since it was impossible to supplement or change to any extent the contents of the book after it went to press, the attention of the reader is called to my article discussing these texts in the September, 1931, issue of *The Juridical Review*.

A. ARTHUR SCHILLER

*December, 1931*



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- VI. Document 4: Release. Recto, lines 1—29.
- VII. (a) Document 2: Verso, lines 27—end and docket.
  - (b) Document 3: Verso, docket.
  - (c) Document 4: Verso, docket and attestation of additional witness.





# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## SOURCES

### 1. COPTIC

- BKU** = Ägyptische Urkunden aus den k. Museen zu Berlin, ed. by der Generalverwaltung: Koptische Urkunden, vol. I, part 3 (1902), part 4 (1903), part 7, indexes (1905); vol. II, part I (1904).
- CLT** = Ten Coptic Legal Texts. (This work.)
- CMBM** = Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum, by W. E. Crum (1905).
- CO** = Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum, and Others, ed. by W. E. Crum (1902).
- CPR** = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri II: Koptische Texte, ed. by J. Krall (1895).
- Epi.** = The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, part II: Coptic Ostraca and Papyri, ed. by W. E. Crum (1926).
- KRU** = Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djēme (Theben) I: Texte und Indices, ed. by W. E. Crum (1912).
- Lond.** = An Appendix of Coptic Papyri, ed. by W. E. Crum. *In* Greek Papyri in the British Museum, vol. IV, ed. by H. I. Bell (1910).
- Ryl.** = Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, ed. by W. E. Crum (1909).
- ST** = Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri, ed. by W. E. Crum (1921).
- St. Pes.** = Textes coptes. Extraits de la correspondance de St. Pésunthios, évêque de Coptos, et de plusieurs documents analogues (juridiques ou économiques), by E. Revillout. *In* Revue égyptologique, vol. IX (1900), pp. 133ff.; vol. X (1902), pp. 34ff.; vol. XIV (1914), pp. 22ff.
- Tor.** = Theban Ostraca Edited from the Originals, Now Mainly in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, Toronto, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, part IV: Coptic Texts, ed. by H. Thompson (1913).

### 2. GREEK

- BGU** = Ägyptische Urkunden aus den k. Museen zu Berlin, ed. by der Generalverwaltung: Griechische Urkunden, vols. I—VII (1895—1926).
- P. Cairo Edgar** = Catalogue général du Musée du Caire: Zenon Papyri, by C. C. Edgar, vols. I—III (1925—1928).
- P. Cairo Masp.** = Catalogue général du Musée du Caire: Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, by Jean Maspero, vols. I—III (1911—1915).
- P. Col.** = Papyri of Columbia University. (Now being published by W. L. Westermann in separate articles.)
- P. Hal.** = Dikaiomata, Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen in einem Papyrus des philologischen Seminars der Universität Halle (P. Hal. I) mit einem Anhang weiterer Papyri derselben Sammlung, ed. by Graeca Halensis (1913).
- P. Jur.** = Juristische Papyri: Erklärung von Urkunden zur Einführung in die juristische Papyruskunde, by P. M. Meyer (1920).
- P. kl. Form.** = Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats, ed. by C. Wessely. *In* Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, vols. III (1904) and VIII (1908).
- P. Lille** = Papyrus grecs, ed. by P. Jouguet, vols. I—III (1907—1928).
- P. Lips.** = Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, ed. by L. Mitteis (1906).
- P. Lond.** = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Catalogue with Texts, ed. by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell, vols. I—V (1893—1917).
- P. Mon.** = Veröffentlichungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Staatsbibliothek zu München: Byzantinische Papyri, ed. by A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger (1914).
- P. Oxy.** = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, ed. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, vols. I—XVII (1898—1927).
- P. Par.** = Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale XVIII, by Brunet de Presle (1865).
- PSI** = Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto, vols. I—IX (1912—1929).
- SB** = Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, by F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel (1915—1927).

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## 3. ARABIC

- PAF I* = Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes, ed. by C. Bekker. *In* Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. XX (1907), pp. 68 ff.  
*PAF II* = Neue arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes, ed. by C. Bekker. *In* Der Islam, vol. II (1911), pp. 245 ff.  
*PSR* = Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, vol. III: Papyri Schott-Reinhardt, ed. by C. Bekker (1906).

## 4. LATIN

- C. Th.* = Theodosiani libri XVI, ed. by Th. Mommsen (1905).  
*Nov.* = Corpus Iuris Civilis, vol. III: Novellae, ed. by R. Schoell and G. Kroll (Fourth edition, 1912).

# PERIODICALS

- Abh. Göttingen* = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse (Berlin).  
*Abh. Leipzig* = Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse (Leipzig).  
*Aegyptus* = Aegyptus, Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia (Rome).  
*Arch. R. W. Phil.* = Archiv für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie (Berlin).  
*Atti Torino* = Atti della reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino (Turin).  
*Ausland* = Das Ausland, Ueberschau der neuesten Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Natur-, Erd- und Völkerkunde (Stuttgart).  
*ÄZ* = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig).  
*Ber. Leipzig* = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse (Leipzig).  
*Bys. Zeit.* = Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Leipzig).  
*JEA* = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London).  
*Law Mag. and Rev.* = The Law Magazine and Law Review (London).  
*Mém. Cong. Inter. Orien.* = Mémoires du Congrès international des orientalistes, 1ère session, 1873 (Paris).  
*Münch. Beitr.* = Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte (Munich).  
*OLZ* = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Königsberg).  
*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology (London).  
*RÉ* = Revue égyptologique (Paris).  
*Rend. Lincei* = Rendiconti della r. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche (Rome).  
*RT* = Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris).  
*Sitz. München* = Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Klasse der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München (Munich).  
*Stud. Pal.* = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde (Leipzig).  
*SZ* = Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung (Weimar).  
*SZ, kanon. Abt.* = Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung (Weimar).  
*Tijd.* = Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis: Revue d'histoire du droit (Haarlem).  
*WZKM* = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Vienna).  
*Zapiski Russ. Arch. Soc.* = Memoirs of the Russian Archeological Society of St Petersburg (in Russian) (St Petersburg).  
*ZVR* = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft (Stuttgart).

# MODERN COMMENTARIES

(Selection of those most frequently cited; see also p. 8 n. 5.)

- Amélineau = E. Amélineau. La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte. Paris, 1893.  
 Boulard = L. Boulard. La Vente dans les actes coptes. *In* Études d'histoire juridique offertes à Paul Frédéric Girard par ses élèves, vol. II, pp. 1 ff. Paris, 1912.  
 Crum, *Epiphanius* = H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum. The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, part I, chs. 4—10. New York, 1926.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Grohmann = A. Grohmann. *Protokolle* = *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri III: Series Arabica*, vol. I, part 2. Vienna, 1924.
- Meyer, *P. Jur.* See *P. Jur.*, Sources, Greek.
- Mitteis, *Grds.* and *Chrest.* = *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, vol. II, parts 1 and 2, by L. Mitteis. Leipzig, 1912.
- San Nicolò = M. San Nicolò. Das εἶπε ἀπρὸς ὧπον als Stellvertretungsformel in den koptischen Papyri. *In* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIV (1924), pp. 336 ff.
- Schiller = A. Arthur Schiller. A Coptic Dialysis. *In* *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis: Revue d'histoire du droit*, vol. VII (1927), pp. 432 ff.
- Steinwenter = A. Steinwenter, Studien zu den koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Oberägypten. *In* *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrskunde*, vol. XIX (1920).
- Steinwenter, "Kinderschenkungen..." = A. Steinwenter, Kinderschenkungen an koptische Klöster. *In* *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung*, vol. XLII (1921), pp. 175 ff.; vol. XLIII (1922), pp. 385 f.
- Wilcken, *Grds.* and *Chrest.* = *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, vol. I, parts 1 and 2, by U. Wilcken. Leipzig, 1912.
- Winlock, *Epiphanius* = H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum. *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, part I, chs. 1 and 2. New York, 1926.



# INTRODUCTION



# INTRODUCTION

## RESEARCHES IN COPTIC LAW.

In the middle of the last century there was discovered in the ruins of an old monastery on the west bank of the Nile opposite Thebes a chest filled with papyri inscribed in Coptic, the language of the Christian inhabitants of Egypt until the late middle ages. With this discovery began what study there has been of Coptic law.<sup>1</sup> From the comparative point of view the law of the Copts has perhaps little significance when contrasted with such a system as that of the Romans. Yet in one respect it is almost unique. It is the last stage of a mixture of legal systems that had an existence for five thousand years.

Generally the ancient Egyptians are not regarded as contributing a great deal to jurisprudence,<sup>2</sup> at least when compared with the Babylonians and Assyrians; yet the fact is that legal documents are numerous among the earliest hieratic papyri extant.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the dynastic period we find legal instruments. Here and there are records of cases; and a code of laws is mentioned as early as the Middle Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> Just before the Assyrian conquest (670 B.C.) the pharaoh Bocchoris, and, later, Amasis, engaged upon extensive legislation.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in all probability, one might say that at the death of Alexander the Great the Egyptians possessed a developed legal system. Hundreds of years before this time the Greeks, on their part, had evolved a system of law, Hellenic law, which with later modifications was recognized throughout the eastern Mediterranean as Hellenistic law.<sup>6</sup> The Ptolemies, coming to the throne of Egypt, superimposed these legal principles upon native Egyptian law and also enacted legislation suitable for the mixed population, Greek, Egyptian, and other foreign peoples.<sup>7</sup> Then, when Rome conquered Egypt, undoubtedly Roman legal institutions crept in,<sup>8</sup> so that, with the development of Byzantine law in the later Roman Empire,

<sup>1</sup> One of the first articles on this subject was written by the English scholar, C. W. Goodwin, "Curiosities of Law: Conveyancing among the Copts of the Eighth Century," *Law Mag. and Rev.*, vol. VI (1859), pp. 237 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. Revillout, who for over thirty years wrote books and articles on all phases of Egyptian law (see the bibliography of his works by C. Wessely, *Stud. Pal.*, vol. XIII [1913], pp. 10 ff.), was perhaps the most prolific scholar in Egyptian law; a great deal of his work, however, has been superseded.

<sup>3</sup> For example, K. Sethe, "Ein Prozessurteil aus dem alten Reich," *ÄZ*, vol. LXI (1925), pp. 67 ff.; A. Moret and L. Boulard, "Donations et fondations en droit égyptien," *RT*, vol. XXIX (1907), pp. 57 ff.; K. Sethe, "Aegyptische Inschrift auf den Kauf eines Hauses aus dem alten Reich," *Ber. Leipzig*, vol. LXIII (1911), no. 6. Cf. Wigmore, *Panorama of the World's Legal Systems*, vol. I (1928).

<sup>4</sup> W. M. Petrie, *Social Life in Ancient Egypt* (1923), p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., the last work of E. Revillout, *Les Origines égyptiennes du droit civil romain* (1912), which deals with their codifications and suggests a somewhat fantastic connection with the XII Tables of the Roman law.

<sup>6</sup> L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs* (1891), was the first to point out the influence of this Hellenistic law in the time of the Roman Empire.

<sup>7</sup> An example of Ptolemaic legislation is the *Dikaionmata* of the middle of the third century B.C.; see *P. Hal.* 1, and references to commentaries by P. M. Meyer, *P. Jur.*, pp. 182 f., 238 ff. The Zenon correspondence, *P. Cairo Edgar* I—III; *PSI* I—VII; *P. Col.* (published in articles by W. L. Westermann), of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus is particularly rich in legal material.

<sup>8</sup> A noteworthy legislative act is the *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos*, *BGU* V; see P. M. Meyer, *P. Jur.*, p. 315; "Juristische Papyrusberichte," *ZVR*, vol. XXXIX (1921), pp. 235 ff.; vol. XL (1923), p. 181; *SZ*, vol. XLIV (1924), pp. 592 f.



## TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

the legal system of Egypt became exceedingly complex.<sup>1</sup> Coptic law, as we understand the term, began with the Arab conquest (A.D. 641), extending to about the tenth century A.D., when Arabic law supplanted it. Thus it may be said that ancient Egyptian, Greek, Hellenistic, Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab elements are possible in Coptic law.<sup>2</sup>

As yet little has been done to determine the component parts of Coptic law. In the first place, all that we possess are legal documents,<sup>3</sup> and, though numerous, they do not serve the purpose that legislative enactments or juristic commentaries would. Secondly, the works of modern scholars in Coptic law do not exceed ten in number.<sup>4</sup> The remaining portion of this introduction presents summarily the results of the researches that have been made.

We must bear in mind that we are not dealing with a ruling class; we are concerned with peasants and small property owners, village inhabitants of Upper Egypt, of a decidedly religious frame of mind, in their daily petty transactions. Consequently such refined rules of law as are found are not clearly apparent and were perhaps bodily lifted from the Graeco-Roman civilization preceding the Coptic and thus were but little understood by the generally illiterate Copts. The more learned among the population were the ecclesiastics and those with Greek blood in their veins. Churches and monasteries<sup>5</sup> play the largest rôle in Coptic law; in fact, there is some evidence that the town of Jēme, the provenance of most of our documents, was at one time entirely the property of the monastery of Apa (Saint) Phoibammōn, the superiors of which were very prominent in the town's administrative affairs.<sup>6</sup>

Since most of the texts, including the *CLT*, are from Jēme,<sup>7</sup> it may be well to center our observations on that community, merely pointing out divergencies therefrom in other localities.<sup>8</sup> Jēme,<sup>9</sup> on the site of the ancient necropolis of Thebes, was in the *pagarchia*, or district, of the city of Hermonthis. At the latter place, during the period of our texts, dwelt the Arab officials, including the *pagarchos*, the adminis-

<sup>1</sup> Two introductory works to Graeco-Egyptian legal papyri are L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (1912), vol. II; P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (1920). The latter's "Juristische Papyrusberichte," *ZVR*, vols. XXXIX (1921) and XL (1922); *SZ*, vols. XLIV (1924), XLVI (1926), XLVIII (1928), and L (1930) bring the study up to date.

<sup>2</sup> The scholar in Roman law, L. Wenger, has repeatedly called attention to the value of Coptic law in comparative studies; see his "Ueber Papyri und Gesetzesrecht," *Sitz. München* (1914), no. 5, pp. 17 f.; "Römisches Recht und Rechtsvergleichung," *Arch. R. W. Phil.*, vol. XIV (1920), p. 110 n. 64; *Volk und Staat in Aegypten am Ausgang der Römerherrschaft* (1921), pp. 21 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In Berlin and Vienna alone there are many hundreds of Coptic texts, of which a fourth, at least, must be legal. Documentary evidence, therefore, is plentiful.

<sup>4</sup> Only three are of prime importance: L. Boulard, "La Vente dans les actes coptes," *Études...Girard*, vol. II (1912), pp. 1—94; A. Steinwenter, "Studien zu den koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Oberägypten," *Stud. Pal.*, vol. XIX (1920); A. Steinwenter, "Kinderschenkungen an koptische Klöster," *SZ, kanon. Abt.*, vol. XLII (1921), pp. 155—207; vol. XLIII (1922), pp. 385 f.

<sup>5</sup> A work by the author, *Legal Rules and Economic Factors of Property in the Coptic Monasteries during the Sixth to Eighth Centuries A.D.*, not as yet published, will support this point so far as the monasteries are concerned.

<sup>6</sup> See Steinwenter, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Numerous texts, however, are from Hermopolis (*CPR* and *CMBM*) and Aphrodito (*Lond.*).

<sup>8</sup> The material on the procedure is extracted from Steinwenter's "Studien...", a work which, though emphasizing procedural and administrative law, is exceedingly valuable for other fields of law.

<sup>9</sup> See the Index of Places, for this and other place names.

## INTRODUCTION

trative and judicial representative of the governor of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Here, no doubt, courts of first instance and appeal, with the *pagarchos* and his subordinates as judges, were to be found.<sup>2</sup> Probably all suits in which Arabs were parties, as well as major proceedings among the Copts, were tried at Hermonthis. When we turn to the entirely Christian community of Jēme we find that the highest judicial position is that of the *dioikētēs*,<sup>3</sup> an official corresponding to our magistrate or justice of the peace.<sup>4</sup> The parties to a dispute presented their controversy before him. After acquainting himself with the matter, perhaps determining jurisdiction and capacity to sue, etc., he would turn it over to a council of elders,<sup>5</sup> whose decision he would see carried out. The settlement of the controversy, after the decision of this council, was drawn up in the form of a *dialysis* document<sup>6</sup> in which the rights of both parties (our instances are generally partitions or successions) were set out. The other official of Jēme exercising legal functions was the *lashane*,<sup>7</sup> who, though primarily an administrative magistrate, sometimes is found in practically the same judicial position as the *dioikētēs*.

In substantive law the field of obligations is the best known, but even here we have little more than elementary principles. One type of obligation, the deed of sale, has been made the subject of an article by L. Boulard,<sup>8</sup> a work well illustrating the method of approach when the sole materials extant are the actual contracts of sale. In summary Boulard declares somewhat as follows.<sup>9</sup> The study of sales in Coptic law must be limited to the eighth century. The institution of sale in ancient Egypt, anterior to the conquest of the Romans but preserved by them, is the foundation of the institution among the Copts.<sup>10</sup> Byzantine influence is clearly seen; note, for example, a constitution of Arcadius and Honorius<sup>11</sup> and a novel of Justinian,<sup>12</sup> besides the adoption of the formulae of the Byzantine *tabellio* document.<sup>13</sup> Byzantine influence, however, seems stronger in the documents of Jēme than in those of the Fayyūm and the Hermopolite nome. Islamic influence seems to be absent.<sup>14</sup> A commentary on the deeds of sale of Hermopolis is found in J. Krall's publication of the Coptic papyri now in Vienna,<sup>15</sup> and again in Boulard's work, in which it is better treated. We leave the discussion of the particular elements of sale to the introduction of 7.

<sup>1</sup> Another official, the *dux*, is mentioned in *KRU* IO, 11; see Steinwenter, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *KRU* 8, 3; 25, 15; 42, 9, deal with the judicial functions of the *pagarchos*, generally called *amira*. Cf. 3. Arabic texts of this period, *PSR* IO; II; *PAF* I, I, 2; II, 8, 9, also treat of this official in his judicial capacity. Cf. Steinwenter, pp. 8 ff., 11 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Steinwenter, sect. 3. Note that the *dioikētēs* at Aphrodito means the *pagarchos*, H. I. Bell, *P. Lond.* IV, p. xiii, in the Greek papyri of the Arab period.

<sup>4</sup> Steinwenter, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The *nog nrōme*, "great men," corresponding to the Byzantine *prōtōmētai*; see Steinwenter, pp. 22 ff., 43 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Steinwenter undertook his study of Coptic law in connection with the *dialysis* problem in ancient legal systems; see his recent work, "Die Streitbeendigung durch Urteil, Schiedsspruch und Vergleich nach griechischem Recht," *Münch. Beitr.*, vol. VIII (1925). Cf. also Schiller, *Tijd.*, vol. VII (1927), pp. 432 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Steinwenter, sect. 6. On the etymology, see W. Spiegelberg, "Koptische Miscellen," *RT*, vol. XXIV (1902), pp. 187 ff.

<sup>8</sup> "La Vente dans les actes coptes," *Études...Girard*, vol. II (1912), pp. 1—94.

<sup>9</sup> Pages 89 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Pages 6 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *C. Th.* 2. 9. 3; cf. Boulard, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Nov.* 73.

<sup>13</sup> See *infra*, p. 7 n. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Boulard, p. 93 n. 5, calls attention to the analogies between the Coptic deeds of sale and the mediaeval documents of sale.

<sup>15</sup> In *CPR*, pp. 11 ff. Cf. the note by J. Meyer, "Ueber koptische Rechtsurkunden," *ZVR*, vol. XXVI (1911), pp. 154 ff. J. Krall also discusses Jēme sales documents in "Zwei koptische Verkaufsurkunden," *WZKM*, vol. II (1888), pp. 25 ff., 273 ff.

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The only other subject in the field of obligations that has been dealt with to some extent is that of suretyship. K. Sethe and J. Partsch, in connection with their study of Demotic suretyship,<sup>1</sup> present some guaranty relations in Coptic law. A particular portion of suretyship, namely, surety for persons on furlough,<sup>2</sup> has also been studied (see introduction to 3, a document of this type).

In the field of persons E. Revillout calls attention to the relations of husband and wife to each other and to marital property among the Copts.<sup>3</sup> The peculiar institution of oblates, children who are given by their parents to the monasteries, and whose status is almost that of servitude, has been studied at greater length,<sup>4</sup> an interesting comparison having been made to a similar practice in mediaeval Europe.<sup>5</sup> Without doubt, the institution is descended from a similar custom in ancient Egypt, and is probably not Indo-European.<sup>6</sup>

A cursory reading of the Jēme documents reveals constant recurrences of the same sentences and clauses in all types of texts.<sup>7</sup> Boulard deals at length with the formulae, as we may call them, of the deeds of sale, but neglects to point out that for the most part the same formulae with little variation occur in all texts.<sup>8</sup> Briefly summarized and illustrated by references to *CLT*, the form and formulae of a typical Jēme text are as follows. The document can be divided into five parts, (1) the introduction, (2) the body, (3) the signature, (4) the attestations, (5) the scribe's notation. The introduction in its fullest form contains an invocation and two dating formulae. The invocatory formula appears in two types,<sup>9</sup> the Greek<sup>10</sup> and the Coptic,<sup>11</sup> both satisfying the same purpose, an invocation to the Christian deity. The dating formulae consist of the indictional date and the eponymic date, each of which appears

<sup>1</sup> "Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Burgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit," *Abh. Leipzig*, vol. xxxii (1920), pp. 496 ff., 764 f.

<sup>2</sup> E. Revillout, "Huit papyrus coptes du Musée égyptien du Louvre, provenant du monastère de Saint-Jérémie de Memphis, et relatifs aux impôts de l'empire byzantin," *Mém. Cong. Inter. Orient.*, vol. II (1873), pp. 471 ff.; vol. III (1873), pp. 55 ff., a poor edition of the texts and a commentary in great part inaccurate. The subject is better dealt with by J. Krall, "Neue koptische und griechische Papyrus," *RT*, vol. VI (1885), pp. 63 ff., and L. Stern, "Erklärung einiger memphitisch-koptischen Papyrusurkunden," *ÄZ*, vol. xxiii (1888), pp. 145 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In "Les Régimes matrimoniaux dans le droit égyptien et par comparaison dans le Code civil français," *RE*, vol. I (1880), pp. 98 ff. Cf. his *Précis du droit égyptien*, vol. II (1903), pp. 824 ff.

<sup>4</sup> An older work of F. de Villenoisy, "Des donations d'enfants à l'époque copte," *RE*, vol. VI (1891), pp. 30 ff., 150 ff.; vol. VII (1896), pp. 146 ff., 199 f., has been supplanted by the scientific treatise of A. Steinwenter, "Kinderschenkungen an koptische Klöster," *SZ, kanon. Abt.*, vol. XLII (1921), pp. 175 ff.; vol. XLIII (1922), pp. 385 f.

<sup>5</sup> After a discussion of the documentary sources, *KRU* 78—103, and the self-dedication of an adult, *KRU* 104, Steinwenter decides that the status of the donated child is not that of a freeman to be trained as a monk, but a semi-slave serving the church. He compares the institution with that of the Benedictines, and hierodulism in general.

<sup>6</sup> Steinwenter, "Kinderschenkungen...", pp. 206 f. Cf. the Assyrian temple-dedications, J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, nos. 44, 45; and the Byzantine *adscriptii*, P. M. Meyer, *P. Jur.* 51.

<sup>7</sup> This is not true of Coptic papyri from other places, nor even of short or exceptional Jēme texts, e.g., 3, 6, 10.

<sup>8</sup> For further study of the formulae, see Schiller, *Tijd.*, vol. VII (1927), pp. 444 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See generally Boulard, pp. 11 ff.; Steinwenter, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>10</sup> 1, 1—2; 4, 1; 6, 1, are examples of the Greek invocation. For the Greek papyri, see *P. Par.* 21, 1; *P. Oxy.* I 138, 1.

<sup>11</sup> 2, 1; 10, 1—2, are examples of the Coptic invocation. Cf. longer Coptic invocations in *KRU* 20, 35, 38. On the last, see Schiller, *Tijd.*, vol. VII (1927), pp. 432 ff.

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in a complete document. The indictional date<sup>1</sup> is all that remains of three dates established by Justinian, while the eponymic date<sup>2</sup> seems to have no Graeco-Roman precursor and thus differs from all the other formulae which find their origin in the formulae of the Byzantine *tabellio* document.<sup>3</sup> The formulae of the body of the document are not so standardized as those of the introduction, yet they are worthy of mention. The addressor of the deed is first identified.<sup>4</sup> Then follows a declaration appointing witnesses and a scribe to this inviolable document.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes a formula, "I augment the validity, etc.," is found.<sup>6</sup> In epistolary manner the addressee is next mentioned.<sup>7</sup> Scattered through the body of the deed are generally to be found oath formulae of varying types,<sup>8</sup> the formula declaring that no force, duress, etc., has been employed against the addressor,<sup>9</sup> and, in documents dealing with transfer of possession (sales, gifts, etc.), the formula setting forth the powers to be vested in the addressee.<sup>10</sup> The concluding formulae of the body of the text are more standardized, both in content and order, and may be divided into two groups, penal and executory. After a declaration that the deed shall not be violated by certain parties<sup>11</sup>—often there are added clauses that no suit shall be brought before certain officials in certain places<sup>12</sup>—the consequences of a violation of the document by suing the addressee follow: no benefit to the violator, estrangement from the Christian oath, the payment of a fixed money penalty, and the subsequent acknowledgment of the validity of the deed.<sup>13</sup> The executory clauses provide for the universal validity of the deed, the reading of the

<sup>1</sup> Justinian, *Nov.* 47 (A.D. 537), decreed that the regnal year, the consulate, and the indictional date should always be present. Our texts have only the last, though some *KRU* texts have the year of the Martyrs' Era or of the Hijrah, e.g., *KRU* 14, 15, 70, 106; cf. Steinwenter, pp. 32 f. Indictional date in 1, 2—3; 2, 1; 4, 1; 6, 2; 10, 2—4.

<sup>2</sup> The *lshane* of Jēme remained in office only one year (first directly proved by 5, 50—51), and the phrase "in the time of" could thus effectively be used as a method of dating the document. Further on eponymic dating, see Steinwenter, pp. 29 ff., and Schiller, *Tijd.*, vol. VII (1927), pp. 445 ff. No eponymic dates are found in *CLT*; see, however, references to *KRU* texts in Steinwenter, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For Byzantine *tabellio*, see P. M. Meyer, *P. Jur.*, pp. 112 f., and references there.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Boulard, pp. 16 ff. The terms addressor and addressee have been used to designate the parties to these documents because of the epistolary form in which the documents are cast. The typical addressor formula is presented by 1, 4—6; 4, 2; 7, 3—5. Cf. the Greek *P. Cairo Masp.* 67151, 8 ff.; *P. Mon.* I 10, 5 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Boulard, pp. 20 ff.; 1, 6—10; 5, 1—5; 7, 5—7. Cf. also the Greek *P. Cairo Masp.* 67023, 9 ff. = *P. Jur.* 12, 9 n.; *P. Mon.* I 1, 7 ff.

<sup>6</sup> 1, 10—12; 7, 8—10; this additional clause is not found in the Byzantine *tabellio* documents.

<sup>7</sup> 1, 12—16; 2, 2—3; 4, 2—4; 7, 10—12. Cf. Boulard, pp. 24 ff., and in Byzantine texts, e.g., *P. Lond.* V 1733, 8 ff.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., 1, 59—60; 4, 21—22; 5, 110—111; 6, 22—23. Cf. Boulard, pp. 30 ff., and E. Springer, "Die Sicherungsklauseln der koptischen Rechtsurkunden," *AZ*, vol. XXIII (1885), pp. 140 ff.

<sup>9</sup> 1, 56—59; 5, 107—109; 6, 19—22; 7, 13—16; cf. Boulard, pp. 28 ff.; H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der graeco-ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden* (1919), p. 310.

<sup>10</sup> 7, 26—34. Cf. Boulard, pp. 50 ff. Even in gift-of-children deeds; see Steinwenter, "Kinderschenkungen...", p. 185.

<sup>11</sup> 1, 67—72; 2, 12—13; 4, 14—15; 7, 40—41; 8, 17; 9, 9—11. On *prosōpon*, "representative," and on the addressor formula, see San Nicolò, *Bys. Zeit.*, vol. XXIV (1924), pp. 336 ff.

<sup>12</sup> 1, 77—82. On these various courts, see Steinwenter, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Generally all the formulae are present, 1, 84—94; 2, 13—15; 4, 19—23; 5, 126—134; 7, 56—63; 9, 11—16. Cf. Boulard, pp. 57 ff.; Schiller, *Tijd.*, vol. VII (1927), pp. 450 ff., and an early article by Springer, *AZ*, vol. XXIII (1885), pp. 134 ff., 143 f. See the Greek will of Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis, *P. Lond.* I 77, 50 ff., and A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden* (1911), pp. 233 f. The "tribunal-of-Christ" formula, so common in *CLT*, is not so frequent in the whole Jēme corpus and therefore was not included above.

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document to the writer, and his execution of it.<sup>1</sup> The signature follows the body of the text,<sup>2</sup> and the witnesses' attestations are found next.<sup>3</sup> Concluding the document is the scribe's declaration, sometimes in the formulaic *di emu* clause of the Graeco-Roman papyri.<sup>4</sup> Thus the usual Coptic text has the following form: (I) introduction, (A) invocatory formulae, (B) dating formulae, (1) indictional and (2) eponymic; (II) body, (A) introductory formulae, (1) name of the addressor, (2) appointment of witnesses and scribe, and (3) name of the addressee, (B) formulae of the text, (1) oath, (2) denial of duress, (C) penal formulae, (1) persons debarred from suit, (2) absence of benefit to violator, (3) estrangement, (4) money penalty, and (5) subsequent acknowledgment of validity, (D) executory formulae, (1) universal validity, (2) reading of the document, and (3) execution of the deed; (III) signature; (IV) attestations; (V) declaration of the scribe. Sometimes a Greek or Graeco-Arabic protocol precedes the Coptic text, and often a docket is found on the verso. Neither, however, is written at the time of executing the deed.

In conclusion we note that procedure, sales, suretyship, the marital relation, gifts of children, the formulae of the deeds, have been the only fields of Coptic law studied in the modern scientific method<sup>5</sup>; even in these the last word has in nowise been uttered. The reader will readily see the need for extensive study in Coptic law before one can attempt to obtain a picture of the Coptic legal system. Therefore, as this work is primarily an edition of texts, only in the introduction to the individual documents will some few points of Coptic law be developed. A special article deals with the legal problems arising from these documents and a further discussion of the value of study of legal documents alone.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1, 102—107; 2, 23—24; 4, 23—25; 5, 134—136; 6, 43—47; 7, 64—68; 9, 16—20. Cf. Boulard, pp. 67 ff.; Steinwenter, pp. 63 f.

<sup>2</sup> Note that in 6 all the subscriptions are signatures (the one case of a witness is a mistake). Cf. generally Steinwenter, pp. 70 ff.; Boulard, pp. 72 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Some exceptional attestations using Greek words are 1, 132—134, 135, 136, 137; 4, 26, 27, 32; 5, 159, 163. Cf. generally Boulard, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Found in 4, 28; 9, 37. On "*di emu*," see V. Gardthausen, "Di emu der byzantinischen Notare," *Stud. Pal.*, vol. xvii (1917), pp. 1 ff. Generally on the Coptic notaries, see Steinwenter, sect. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Articles and notes on Coptic law not mentioned heretofore and not in the List of Abbreviations are: E. Bruck, "Totenteil und Seelgerät im griechischen Recht," *Münch. Beitr.*, vol. ix (1926), p. 284 n.; H. R. Hall, "Two Coptic Acknowledgements of Loan," *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. xxxiii (1911), pp. 254 ff.; H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der graeco-ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden* (1919), pp. 13, 20 n. 6, 146 n. 19, 198 n. 45, 306, 310, 328 n. 63, 381 n. 8, 384, 386 n. 23, 389 n. 3; P. M. Meyer, "Juristische Papyrusberichte," *ZVR*, vol. xxxix (1921), pp. 248 ff., 264, 275 f., vol. xl (1922), pp. 177 f.; F. Rossi, "Tre documenti copti," *Atti Torino*, vol. xxiii (1887—1888), pp. 334 ff.; M. San Nicolò, "Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer," *Münch. Beitr.*, vol. ii (1915), pp. 28 n. 2, 54 n. 1, 57 n. 1, 117 f., 157 n. 2; M. San Nicolò, "Die Schlussklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge," *Münch. Beitr.*, vol. iv (1922), pp. 30 n. 57, 132 n. 76; A. A. Schiller, *Coptic Wills* (Diss. J. D., Univ. of Calif. in MSS (1926); W. Spiegelberg, "Ein koptischer Vertrag," in P. Basle, *Abh. Göttingen*, new series, vol. xvi (1917), no. 3, pp. 75 ff.; G. Steindorff, "Neue koptische Urkunden aus Theben," *ÄZ*, vol. xxix (1891), pp. 1 ff.; A. Steinwenter, *Beiträge zum öffentlichen Urkundenwesen der Römer* (1915), pp. 60 n. 4, 80 ff.; reviews of A. Steinwenter, "Studien..." by V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Aegyptus*, vol. i (1920), pp. 282 ff.; by H. I. Bell, *JEA*, vol. vii (1921), pp. 229 ff.; by A. Berger, *ZVR*, vol. xxxix (1921), pp. 312 f.; by P. Koschaker, *SZ*, vol. xli (1920), pp. 330 ff.; by W. Spiegelberg, *OLZ* (1922), pp. 444 f.; L. Stern, "Zwei koptische Urkunden aus Theben auf einem Papyrus des ägyptischen Museums zu Berlin," *ÄZ*, vol. xxii (1884), pp. 140 ff.; B. Turaev, "A Coptic Document" (in Russian), *Zapiski Russ. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv (1902—1903), pp. 095 ff.; F. v. Woess, "Das Asylwesen Aegyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung," *Münch. Beitr.*, vol. v (1923), pp. 223 ff., 233 ff., 259 ff.

<sup>6</sup> This article is published in the *Juridical Review*, vol. xliii (1931), pp. 211—240.

# INTRODUCTION

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DOCUMENTS

The dates of such texts as are published here can only in rare cases be fixed with certainty. If the year of the Hijreh or of the Martyrs' Era (began A.D. 284) appears in a document<sup>1</sup>, then a definite date may be ascertained. Unfortunately most texts employ only the indictional date, a cycle of fifteen years, the first year in the period of our texts beginning August 29, 687, 702, 717, 732, etc.<sup>2</sup> We do know that our Theban (Jēme) texts were written between A.D. 641 and 800, and sometimes we are able to reach a fairly certain date by the combined usage of the protocol, generally defined as the official stamp placed upon the sheet of papyrus at the date of its manufacture,<sup>3</sup> and the indiction date, if both are present. Usually, however, we must date our texts approximately by comparing the names of persons which appear therein with those in other published texts, either definitely dated or contemporaneous. The various methods employed will be more clearly understood after a study of the following chronology of the individual *CLT*.

The protocol of the long document of release addressed by Mōsēs to the superiors of the monastery of Apa Paulos is dated during the rule of 'Abd el-'Azīz, governor and finance minister of Egypt from February 11, 685, to May 11, 705, and is almost identical with number 1 of Grohmann's protocols,<sup>4</sup> thus being one of the two known Jēme papyri<sup>5</sup> dated in the governorship of 'Abd el-'Azīz. If, further, the indiction date 11 or 12 is present in the last line of the protocol, as it is in *P. Lond.* IV 1449,<sup>6</sup> we can place the protocol in the years 697/8 or 698/9. The deed itself is dated Thōth 16, indiction 12, which immediately suggests September 13, 698.<sup>7</sup> We must remember, however, that papyri might remain unused for a long period and therefore that 713, 728, or even later years may be possible. To determine the validity of 698 we turn to the personages mentioned in the text. Neither the addressor nor his relatives nor the addressees appear in any but the *CLT*, which for the time being we describe as undated. The scribe of the deed, however, is the well-known Psate Pisraēl (i.e., Psate, son of Pisraēl), the writer of four Jēme deeds,<sup>8</sup> all undated, and also a witness to *KRU* 35, 106, dated in the early part of the eighth century.<sup>9</sup> Similarly Kōstantinos Solomōn, ex-*lashane*, and Petros Komes, witnesses in 1, 126, 114, are also present in *KRU* 35, 100, 103, here both termed ex-*lashane*. Iōhannēs

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *KRU* 70, 99, 106 (Hijreh); *KRU* 14, 15, 70, 100, 106 (Martyrs' Era). Cf. Steinwenter, pp. 32 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Steinwenter, pp. 30 ff.; L. Stern, "Die Indictionenrechnung der Kopten," *AZ*, vol. XXII (1884), pp. 160 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The *opus magnum* on protocols is *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, III: Series Arabica, vol. 1, part 2 = A. Grohmann, *Protokolle* (1924). Grohmann, pp. CI ff., presents the various theories.

<sup>4</sup> The protocol of *P. Lond.* 1431.

<sup>5</sup> The protocol of *KRU* 35; 1, however, is the earliest Jēme protocol.

<sup>6</sup> Grohmann, no. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 112, states that the year is 699.

<sup>8</sup> *KRU* (23), 36, 37, 44.

<sup>9</sup> The protocol is Grohmann, no. 9, dated between 685 and 705, and since the execution date is Phaōphi, indiction 3, the deed was probably executed in 689 (Grohmann has 690/1) or 704.

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Lazaros,<sup>1</sup> another well-known scribe,<sup>2</sup> writes for one of the parties in *KRU* 35, 85 and for a witness in *KRU* 38, 62, the protocol date of which is 705—715.<sup>3</sup> Many of our witnesses appear in other Theban texts,<sup>4</sup> but since the latter are undated they offer no help here. In view of the facts that papyri were generally used during the rule of the official under whom they were stamped,<sup>5</sup> and that the identifications noted above point to the first years of the eighth century, we are fairly certain that our document can be dated in A.D. 698.

Employing the evidence obtained in the study of 1, we are able to date 2 in A.D. 703. The same parties of the first part are concerned, Mōsēs and his son Theodōros, and two of the addressees are the same, Apa Daniēl and Apa Athanasios, implying that the third, Apa Iakōb, had died and had been succeeded by the Apa Sevēros of 2, 3. We note that the subject matter of 2 is subsequent to that of 1, and since the date of execution is Athyr 18, indiction 2, the date of November 21, 703, is probably correct. Incidentally Andreas Phēr and Dioscoros Daveid appear in both texts,<sup>6</sup> but unfortunately none of the persons mentioned are found in published Jēme documents.

Though the execution date of 3 is not mentioned, we learn from line 10 that the monks' poll taxes for the twelfth indiction have been paid, a fact indicating that the deed was written in the thirteenth indiction. If we were forced to rely on the personages mentioned, we could go no farther; Chaēl (Michael) and Iōhannēs have no patronymics, while the three monks for whom the permit is requested were not found elsewhere. There is no doubt, however, that the greatly ligatured hand is that of Aristophanē Iōhannēs,<sup>7</sup> the best-known of the Jēme notaries and the scribe of three deeds which can be accurately dated<sup>8</sup> close to the middle of the eighth century. The fact that Aristophanē Iōhannēs is the scribe might lead to the identification of Chaēl with Chaēl Psmō, *dioikētēs* of Jēme and presumably known to the emir,<sup>9</sup> to whom 3 is addressed. Accordingly, I should date our document about the middle of the eighth century, either A.D. 744 or 759.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Crum correctly says, in H. I. Bell, "Two Official Letters of the Arabic Period," *JEA*, vol. XII, p. 273 n. 1, that the Iōhannēs Lazaros documents are to be placed not long after the governorship of 'Abd el-'Azīz, but incorrectly, I think, states that they are probably the earliest of the series. Psate Pisraēl texts are earlier, as shown by our texts; as also are 2 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> The protocol is Grohmann, no. 16.

<sup>4</sup> See notes to the translation.

<sup>5</sup> Grohmann, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Respectively 1, 121; 2, 24; and 1, 121; 2, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. plate of 3 and *CMBM*, pl. 3, no. 1011.

<sup>8</sup> *KRU* 14, protocol = Grohmann, no. 190, dated 720—756, deed dated 756. *KRU* 15, protocol = Grohmann, no. 193, dated 738—747, deed dated 756. *KRU* 41, protocol = Grohmann, no. 117, dated 747—748, deed dated 749.

<sup>9</sup> See *KRU* 13, 4, protocol = Grohmann, no. 110, dated 733, deed dated the same year; *KRU* 88, 3, protocol = Grohmann, no. 124, dated 757—758, deed dated 758. On the difficulty of considering Chaēl the same in both, see Grohmann, p. 113, and Steinwenter, pp. 31 f. I see no reason why the *kyrios* Chaēl of *KRU* 88 is the same as the *kyrios* Psmō of *KRU* 84, 2; 86, 11; 104, 57, as Steinwenter claims, and accordingly I see no impossibility in assuming that a *dioikētēs* of 733 should hold the same office in 764. (Steinwenter himself points out that Komes held the office of *dioikētēs* at least ten years.)

<sup>10</sup> Considering the deed to have been drawn in the early part of the thirteenth indiction.

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The text of **4** is dated Athyr 22, indiction 1. Neither the author nor the scribe appears elsewhere, but the addressees are the identical three superiors addressed in **1**. Accordingly, **4** is earlier than **2**, which shows one new superior. No other of its personages is found elsewhere—with one notable exception. An Isaak Papnuthios appears in *Epi.* 93, 1. According to Crum<sup>1</sup> there is little, if any, evidence that the anchorite community of Epiphanius existed after the Arab conquest (A.D. 641), but the fact remains that Isaak is found in **4**. When it is also seen that **4** is wholly unligatured (and therefore wholly different from eighth-century Jēme texts and very similar to seventh-century Epiphanius texts<sup>2</sup>), and that the name of Kalapēsios, the scribe of **4**, appears often in *Epi.* but only once in *KRU*, we can assume that the two Isaaks are the same and that we now have some evidence, at least, as to the members of the Epiphanian community after the conquest. In **1** Mōsēs tells us that when he entered the monastery of Apa Paulos the superiors were Apa Isaak and Apa Papas, and that they were dead in 698. Since the superiors addressed in **4** are those of 698, the latter document is contemporaneous with or slightly prior to **1**, but not earlier than the entrance of Mōsēs into the monastery and certainly not as early as A.D. 641. I should think November 18, 672 or 687, rather than 702,<sup>3</sup> was the date of the execution of **4**.

The longest of our documents, **5**, is addressed in all probability by two *lashane*, Thōmas Iōhannēs and Komes Samuēl,<sup>4</sup> with the endorsement of Apa Biktōr,<sup>5</sup> superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammōn, to the superiors of the monastery of Apa Paulos, and in the course of the document Apa Iakōb, Apa Isaak, and Apa Petronios<sup>6</sup> are mentioned. Since Apa Iakōb and Apa Isaak, if the latter is the same as in **1** and **4**, are dead and new superiors seem to be concerned, **5** is later than **1**, **2**, or **4**. The scribe of the deed is the scribe of **1**, Psate Pisraēl. Some of the witnesses reappear in published texts written by Psate Pisraēl<sup>7</sup> and Iōhannēs Lazaros,<sup>8</sup> while Athanasios Geōrgios is also found in the deeds of Aristophanē Iōhannēs<sup>9</sup> and in a text dated 749.<sup>10</sup> The evidence deduced from these identifications would indicate a date about the end of the first quarter of the eighth century.<sup>11</sup> The indiction date<sup>12</sup> would therefore give November 25, 711 or 726.

The scribe of the communal agreement is unknown, unless it be Aristophanē

<sup>1</sup> *Epiphanius*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Epi.* 253 on pl. vii.

<sup>3</sup> This latter date is too close to the changed superiors of **2** and too late for an unligatured hand.

<sup>4</sup> Both are found only here.

<sup>5</sup> This common name without patronymic cannot be definitely identified in Jēme texts; see Crum, *KRU*, index iv, p. 430.

<sup>6</sup> The first two deceased, the third probably not.

<sup>7</sup> Abraham Theodōros in *KRU* 36, 15; 37, 8; 44, 127; Athanasios Geōrgios in *KRU* 36, 16, 78; Aarōn Kyriakos in *KRU* 23, 69; Sevēros Mōsēs in **1**, 115.

<sup>8</sup> Komes Hatre in *KRU* 35, 108, the protocol date of which is 685—705.

<sup>9</sup> In *KRU* 14, 96, dated 756; in *KRU* 15, 105, dated 756. On these documents and the scribe, see *supra*, p. 10 n. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *KRU* 4, 93, the protocol = Grohmann, no. 189, dated 720—749.

<sup>11</sup> The *terminus post quem* would be the death of Psate Pisraēl.

<sup>12</sup> **5**, 152: Athyr 29, indiction 10.



## TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

Iōhannēs who acts as scribe for a party,<sup>1</sup> but several of the parties reappear in published texts. To be noted besides Aristophanē Iōhannēs are Isaak Zacharias, a scribe of the first half of the same century,<sup>2</sup> and a number of persons who appear in deeds written by Iōhannēs Lazaros<sup>3</sup> and Psate Pisraēl.<sup>4</sup> **6**, therefore, can be dated within the first half of the century, probably between A.D. 725 and 740.

According to Crum, Aristophanē Iōhannēs is the scribe of **7**, one addressee of which, Sevēros Samuēl, reappears in *KRU* 64, 19 and as scribe of *KRU* 69.<sup>5</sup> An Abraham Daveid<sup>6</sup> is found in *KRU* 36, 69 and 37, 121, while Daniēl Shenute reappears in *ST* 77, 1, all three of these documents by the hand of Psate Pisraēl. **7**, therefore, presents the same factors as **6**, Psate Pisraēl balanced against Aristophanē Iōhannēs, and so can also be dated between A.D. 725 and 740.

**8** was written by Iōhannēs Lazaros, a scribe of the first quarter of the eighth century. Unfortunately only Kyriakos Petros aids us in further fixing the date of the deed. He appears in **6**, 80 and as scribe of *KRU* 28 and 50<sup>7</sup>; thus we can only say that **8** is of about the same time as **6** and **7**.

The witnesses of **9** enable us to date this deed about the same time, or perhaps a little later than **6**, **7**, and **8**. For example, Dēmētrios Leontios appears in deeds written by both Aristophanē Iōhannēs<sup>8</sup> and Iōhannēs Lazaros.<sup>9</sup> The same is true of Isaak Kōstantinos.<sup>10</sup> Similarly Iōhannēs Mathias appears in *KRU* 50, 14, a document written by the Kyriakos Petros of **6** and **8**. If Hanos Stephanos is the Hamos Stephanos of *KRU* 20, 137, we may then add the protocol date 720—759. A close connection between **6** and **9** is shown by the fact that a Iezekiēl Mathias and a Prēshe Ieremias appear in the former, while Iezekiēl and Prēshe, with patronymics lost, are in the latter. Similarly Athanasios Sanchēm of **6**, 54, and Pagapē Mēna of **9**, 35, both appear in *ST* 144. The statement "perhaps a little later" above is due to the absence of the earliest of the Jēme scribes, Psate Pisraēl, in **9**.

The indiction date of **10** corresponds to April 3, indiction 8.<sup>11</sup> The scribe is Zacharias, the archpriest, who might be any one of a number of ecclesiastical personages of that name.<sup>12</sup> Our Onorios Lalhēv reappears in a text written by Aristophanē Iōhannēs, *ST* 415, enabling us to place **10** in the last part of the first half of the eighth century. Further than saying that April 3, 725, 740, and 755, are the three most probable dates we cannot go.

<sup>1</sup> **6**, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Scribe of *KRU* 70 and 106, the latter with protocol = Grohmann, no. 109, dated 732, deed dated 732—735.

<sup>3</sup> Abraham Psēs in *KRU* 42, 6; Thōmas Biktōr in *KRU* 42, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Hēlias Zacharias in *KRU* 37, 115; Daveid Sevēros in **1**, 116, 131.

<sup>5</sup> Neither of these texts can be dated.

<sup>6</sup> **7**, 76; he may also be the Abraham of **7**, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Both undated.

<sup>8</sup> *KRU* 52, 31, and 48, 71.

<sup>9</sup> *KRU* 21, 91.

<sup>10</sup> In Aristophanē Iōhannēs' documents: *KRU* 14, 91, dated 756; *KRU* 25, 51; 47, 78; 48, 72; 87, 51. In Iōhannēs Lazaros' documents: *KRU* 38, 8, protocol dated 705—717; *KRU* 42, 56.

<sup>11</sup> I.e., Pharmuthi 8, indiction 8.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps Zacharias, archpriest, of *KRU* 66, 72; 76, 81; 93, 53, or the Zacharias of *KRU* 10, 63 (scribe: Aristophanē Iōhannēs), or of *KRU* 68, 103, or the scribe of *KRU* 89.

## INTRODUCTION

The approximate dates of the *CLT* are, therefore:

- 1, September 13, 698; scribe: Psate Pisraēl.
- 2, November 21, 703; „ Theodōros Mōsēs.
- 3, 744 or 759; scribe: Aristophanē Iōhannēs.
- 4, November 18, 672 or 687; „ Kalapēsios Shenute.
- 5, „ 25, 711 or 726; „ Psate Pisraēl.
- 6, 725 — 740; „ ? ? ?
- 7, 725 — 740; „ Aristophanē Iōhannēs.
- 8, 725 — 740; „ Iōhannēs Lazaros.
- 9, 730 — 745; „ Theodōros ? ?
- 10, April 3, 725, 740, or 755; „ Zacharias, priest.



# TEXTS

# TEXTS

## 1. RELEASE

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession numbers 24. 2. 3<sup>A-C</sup>.

Size: 35 × 213 cm. 3 sheets. Fibers: horizontal and vertical.

Recto: protocol + 142 lines. Verso: 1 line.

Plates I—III.

## INTRODUCTION

1 is one of five documents purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in Egypt in 1924, three others of which are the succeeding texts, 2—4, while the fifth is a Greek document published by H. I. Bell as the first of the two texts in "Two Official Letters of the Arab Period," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. XII, pp. 265 ff., a *firmān* of the Arab duke of the Thebaid, issued for the protection of a monastery after the members thereof had defaulted in the payment of their poll taxes. It is related in the last-named document that the monastery addressed is that of Apa Paulos, the one that is referred to in 1—4, as well as in 5.

The monastery of Apa Paulos the anchorite,<sup>1</sup> practically unknown in published Jēme texts,<sup>2</sup> is described as being "in the Kulōl" or "Kolōl"<sup>3</sup> (Greek *καῦκος*,<sup>4</sup> i.e., the "Cup"<sup>5</sup>), perhaps because of its particular location on the mount of Jēme. From the five documents we become acquainted with the succession of the monastic superiors at this site, presumably at the height of its fame in the early part of the eighth century. Apa Isaak<sup>6</sup> and Apa Papas are the earliest successors of Apa Paulos,<sup>7</sup> the founder of the monastery, that we know of. Upon their death Apa Daniēl, Apa Iakōb, and Apa Athanasios succeeded. The course of succession thereafter is problematical, but it would seem that Apa Iakōb died and Apa Sevēros was appointed in his place; then Apa Daniēl and Apa Sevēros died shortly after, and the survivor, Apa Athanasios,<sup>8</sup> was followed by Apa Petronios. In 732 the superior was Apa Zacharias, with whom our information from legal source material ends.

1 is a document addressed by a certain Mōsēs to Apa Daniēl, Apa Iakōb, and Apa Athanasios. Some years before, while a resident of the village of Pshensiōn<sup>9</sup> in the district of Coptos, the district north of Hermonthis,<sup>10</sup> Mōsēs, fearing a plague which was devastating the land, became a monk in the monastery of Paulos. He turned over twenty *holokottinos* (*holokottinos* = Roman *solidus*) to the superiors, and later, when his son Theodōros joined him as monk, seven *holokottinos* were returned.

<sup>1</sup> 1, 13; 5, 18; *KRU* 106, 44, 70, 104. See *infra*, n. 14 to the first page of the translation.

<sup>2</sup> *KRU* 106, a gift *mortis causa* to the monastery of Paulos, is the only instance.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the street Kulōl in Jēme, *KRU*, index, p. 469, and the proper name, *KRU* 48, 2.

<sup>4</sup> 3, 12, 13, 14. Also in the Greek text, see *JEa*, vol. XII, pp. 266 f. Perhaps Deir el-Kukah is the modern site; see Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. xxvi.

<sup>5</sup> Stern, "Die Literatur der Kopten," *Ausland*, vol. LI (1878), p. 846 n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> On these superiors, see also the Index of Persons.

<sup>7</sup> Whether Isaak and Papas were the direct successors of Paulos we cannot determine.

<sup>8</sup> The "Apa...ṭḥ" of 5, 29, is confusing. If this could be read Apa Athanase the evidence for the succession outlined in the text would be strengthened.

<sup>9</sup> See the Index of Places.

<sup>10</sup> Hermonthis was the capital of the district in which Jēme was situated.

## 1. RELEASE

In this document Mōsēs covenants that the remaining thirteen *holokottinos* shall be used for charitable purposes and that the monastery is freed from all obligation to him as regards the whole sum.

The document is technically called *amerimneia*, literally "freedom from care," i.e., "release," "discharge." As early as A.D. 371 Graeco-Egyptian law presents the usage of the word in this technical sense.<sup>1</sup> It is not, however, until the sixth century A.D. that we find a fair number of papyri employing this term. From a study of these documents and about an equal number of Coptic instances of *amerimneia*,<sup>2</sup> we arrive at the following conclusions. There is but one technical meaning of *amerimneia* and that is discharge.<sup>3</sup> As discharge it is generally found in documents of settlement after trial (*dialyseis*), based upon the decision of an arbitrator.<sup>4</sup> Settlements of inheritance<sup>5</sup> and partitions<sup>6</sup> are the most common *dialyseis* in which *amerimneia* occurs,<sup>7</sup> signifying that the addressee is wholly discharged from his obligation, and that further suit will not be brought. Often, however, *amerimneia* is used independently and denotes a document of release, indicating, for example, that the debt has been paid in full; such is 4.<sup>8</sup> 1 seems to be an exceptional case in that the instrument corresponds to the modern principle of accord and satisfaction.

The text, framed in the usual formulaic style, is particularly lengthy and presents some phraseology that is unique.<sup>9</sup> Twenty-three witnesses attest 1, an unusually large number for a private document of this type, and it is interesting to note that the last five witnesses are inhabitants of the district of Coptos and thus from the neighborhood of Mōsēs' earlier residence.<sup>10</sup> They were probably in Jēme at the time of the execution of the document, perhaps even summoned for that special purpose; it is hardly likely that the document was taken to Coptos and attested there.

The deed is termed *diathēkē* in the docket.<sup>11</sup> Generally *diathēkē* means "testament,"<sup>12</sup> but such may not be the case here.<sup>13</sup> If, however, the money was the sole property of Mōsēs at this time, 1 might be a will as well as a discharge, or rather, from the modern point of view, a charitable settlement.

<sup>1</sup> *P. Lips.* 59, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the papyri cited in the following notes there are, Greek: *BGU* 371, 32, 35, 40, and Coptic: *KRU* 52; *BKU* 53; *CPR* III.

<sup>3</sup> *Amerimneia* is often used to mean "for your security," but this can hardly be considered technical. Cf. *P. Oxy.* 1627, 20; *P. Lond.* 1737, 7; *P. kl. Form.* 390.

<sup>4</sup> *Dialysis*, settlement of a controversy either without adjudication or subsequent and according to the decision of an arbitrator, is being studied by A. Steinwenter; for Coptic law, see his "Studien...", pp. 17 f., 56 f.; for Greek law, his "Die Streitbeendigung durch Urteil, Schiedsspruch und Vergleich nach griechischem Recht," *Münch. Beitr.*, vol. VIII, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Greek: *P. Lond.* 1728, 24; Coptic: *KRU* 36, 37, 44, 46.

<sup>6</sup> Coptic: *KRU* 45, 50.

<sup>7</sup> Greek: *P. Lond.* 1731, a *dialysis* after adjudication *re* a sum of money paid at the time of divorce by a husband to his wife for rearing their child; *SB* 5763, 4, 44.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also *Ryl.* 214 where both a Coptic and an Arabic text declare the discharge of a debtor who has fully paid the debt.

<sup>9</sup> See *supra*, pp. 6 f.

<sup>10</sup> (1) Eiōt; from 4, 28, a document executed at Pshensiōn, we learn that the church of Kosma and Theodōros of Pakōthis is in the near vicinity. (2) Samuēl of Pshenhiai, a village in the same district of Coptos; see Crum, *Epi.* 433 n. 12; *Epiphanios*, p. 121. (3) Sevēros, a *lashane* of Mōsēs' native village. (4) Athanasios, an inhabitant of Pshensiōn. (5) Shenetōm is *lashane* of Pavē, perhaps also in the district of Coptos.

<sup>11</sup> 1, 141.

<sup>12</sup> I.e., *KRU* 65—72, 74—77.

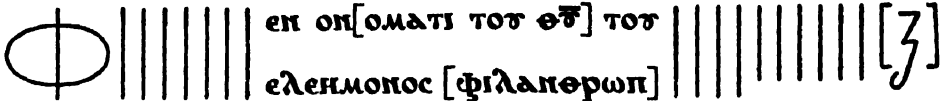
<sup>13</sup> In Coptic literary texts *diathēkē* may mean "covenant," e.g., *Epi.* 51, 27; also in Greek papyri: *P. Lille* 1 3, 58; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67096, 16. Cf. the use of *prasis*, technically "sale," as any legal instrument, *KRU* 71, 16; 106, 37.

28906



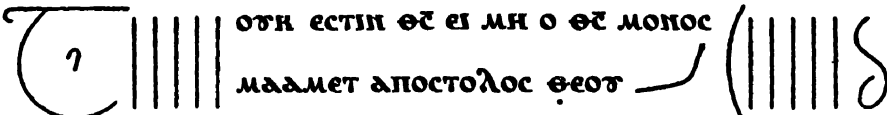
# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

## TEXT


 ἐν ὀν[οματί τὸν οὖς] τὸν  
 ἐλενμονος [φίλανθρωπ]

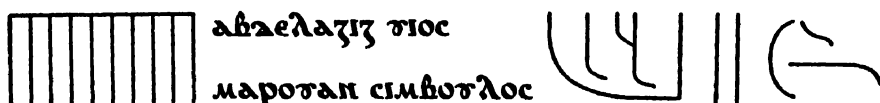
الرحمن الرحيم

بسم الله


 ὅτι ἐστὶν οὖς εἰ μὴ ὁ οὖς μονος  
 μααμετ ἀποστόλος θεος

محمد رسول الله

لا اله الا الله وحده


 ἀδελφάζις τιος  
 μαροταν σιμβοτλος

+ἐν ὀνοματί τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ ὁμοούσιου τριαδὸς πατρὸς  
 καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐν μνήμῃ ὁῶς ἰς  
 τῆς ἀνακατῆς ἰναικτικῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρος τῷ καστρῷ μεμνησῶ  
 +ἀποκλῶν τῆς περὶ ἐλ<sup>χ</sup> μμονοχὸς πῦρρε μπμαναρ<sup>ο</sup> πλὸν<sup>χ</sup> ταμαατ<sup>τ</sup> τασία  
 5 πρῶμψινσιων ρμπτοψ πῆβ<sup>τ</sup> τεποτ<sup>τ</sup> ἀε εἰσοτ μμονοχὸς ρμπτοψ  
 ετοτααβ<sup>τ</sup> μπκαστρον<sup>τ</sup> ἵημε εἰ<sup>τ</sup> μπῆσως μπρτποτραπετς ετπα-  
 ρτποτραπε ραροῖ<sup>τ</sup> ἀτῶ εὑπαρاناλεῖ ἵρεῖμῆτρε ναζιονιστος  
 ετρετμартτρίзе ραροῖ<sup>τ</sup> ραπειετтрафон ἵρομολογια ἵαμεριμπεα  
 εтснρ натпараба<sup>τ</sup> ἄμοу<sup>τ</sup> 'ἀτῶ натпарасалете ἄμοу<sup>τ</sup> ἀτῶ патшолѣ  
 10 εβο<sup>λ</sup> ρῆπ<sup>τ</sup> номос εἰρσοτ<sup>τ</sup> ἀε тахро ἄмоу<sup>τ</sup> ρитῆρεῖμῆτρε  
 наζιονисτος καὶ етнамартτρίзе ероу<sup>τ</sup> ραροῖ<sup>τ</sup> прос тааῖтнсис τῶ  
 ммн<sup>τ</sup> моу<sup>τ</sup> мῖтапроот<sup>τ</sup> миа+ εἰсраῖ εἰῖπῆρре μпманар<sup>ο</sup>  
 ἀπα πατ<sup>λ</sup>ος παπαχωρίтнс παῖ етῆнетотааβ<sup>τ</sup> тепоτ<sup>τ</sup> етеапа<sup>τ</sup> ἀπнл  
 пе мпапа ἱанωбос мῖапа ἀθανасιος мῖтлопас ἵнетнеснн<sup>τ</sup>  
 15 мпнетнн<sup>τ</sup> мῖῆсωот ρμπтоψ ετοταаβ<sup>τ</sup> μπκαστροн<sup>τ</sup> ἵημε  
 χαρειν<sup>τ</sup> επεῖαν ρῖπερομπε ἵтаτпараге· εἰρмб<sup>т</sup>ιος ἵкосμнкоп<sup>τ</sup>  
 ἵтереисωт<sup>т</sup> м<sup>т</sup> епсоеῖт<sup>τ</sup> нпепеюте ετοταаβ<sup>τ</sup> ἀτῶ ἵтерепнотте пагабос  
 келете ἵтеотнот<sup>т</sup> нѳепатнкоп<sup>τ</sup> шопе ρнтнχωра<sup>τ</sup> ἀпнотте παῖ етш<sup>т</sup>-  
 не етш<sup>т</sup>не ἵсат<sup>т</sup>нотф<sup>т</sup>т<sup>т</sup>ла<sup>τ</sup> ποтоеш<sup>т</sup> н<sup>т</sup>м<sup>т</sup> αἰεῖ οὕ<sup>τ</sup> ἑρнс ептоот<sup>τ</sup> етот-  
 20 ааβ<sup>τ</sup> ἵташ<sup>т</sup>р<sup>т</sup>помазе ἄмоу<sup>τ</sup> ἵтпе αἰεῖ ерот<sup>т</sup> ῥатрτпотасн

3 καστρὸν 4 περὶ ἐλ<sup>χ</sup>ιστος; ἄμμαναριος; ταμααττε 12 ἄμμαναριος 18 ἵѳαпатнкоп  
 19 omit етш<sup>т</sup>не; отφίλια

# 1. RELEASE

## TRANSLATION

(Protocol) In the name [of God], the merciful [the benevolent] (Greek). In the name of God, the merciful, the benevolent (Arabic). There is no God but the one God; Moḥammed is the envoy of God (G.). There is no God but God alone; Moḥammed is the envoy of God (A.).<sup>1</sup> 'Abd el-'Azīz, son of Marwān, governor (G.).<sup>2</sup> (Indiction) 12.<sup>3</sup>

In the name of the holy and vivifying consubstantial Trinity, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.<sup>4</sup> In the month of Thōth, the sixteenth, of the twelfth indiction; in the bounds<sup>5</sup> of Kastron Memnoniōn.<sup>6</sup> I, Mōsēs, the humble monk, the son of the late Pluj, my mother being Tasia, (5) man of Pshensiōn in the district<sup>7</sup> of Coptos, now a monk on the holy mount<sup>8</sup> of Kastron Jēme, I designate below a scribe who will subscribe<sup>9</sup> for me and who will request trustworthy witnesses to attest this document, agreement of release,<sup>10</sup> for me, written to be immutable and invariable and irrevocable<sup>11</sup> (10) according to the laws.<sup>12</sup> I augment its validity by trustworthy witnesses who shall attest it for me at my own request and my decision.

I write to the successors<sup>13</sup> of the late Apa Paulos, the anchorite,<sup>14</sup> he who is now among the saints, namely, to Apa Daniēl and Apa Iakōb and Apa Athanasios and the rest of their brethren (15) and those succeeding them on the holy mount of Kastron Jēme, greeting:

When, in those years which are past, I was in the worldly life, when I heard the praise of our holy fathers and when the good God commanded that there should be a great plague<sup>15</sup> in our land, for God is the one who sought (sought) our welfare at all times, I came south, then, to the holy mount (20) which I have named above. I entered

<sup>1</sup> This is a bilingual Graeco-Arabic (Grohmann, II A 2a a, p. xxxvi) version of the Bismillāh.

<sup>2</sup> Abū 'l-Aṣḥab 'Abd el-'Azīz b. Marwān b. el-Ḥakam el-Quraṣī el-Umawī was appointed governor and finance director of Egypt by his father, Marwān, on February 11, 685, and died May 11, 705. See Grohmann, pp. 3 f.

<sup>3</sup> If we have an indictional date here, within the so-called perpendicular (*schraffenschriftlich*) writing, it is similar to *P. Lond.* I449 = Grohmann, no. 11, or *P. Lond.* I462 r = Grohmann, no. 20.

<sup>4</sup> For the so-called Greek invocation, see Introduction, p. 6 n. 10. So for all the formulae of these texts.

<sup>5</sup> See Bell, *P. Lond.* IV, p. xvii; Steinwenter, p. 7 n. 11.

<sup>6</sup> See the Index of Places for this and all place names.

<sup>7</sup> See Crum, *Epiphanius*, pp. 104 f., for discussion and references.

<sup>8</sup> The hilly portion back of the fertile strip of the Nile about western Thebes; Crum, *Epiphanius*, pp. 107 f.

<sup>9</sup> On the scribe and *hypographeus*, see Steinwenter, sect. 8.

<sup>10</sup> See *supra*, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> If any legal distinction exists between these terms I have been unable to determine it. The identical words in *KRU* 68, 8; 92, 41; but numerous variations are found. Cf. Boulard, p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Steinwenter, pp. 63 f., would understand this as the Justinian compilation, but cf. Koschaker's view in his review of Steinwenter, *SZ*, vol. XLI (1920), p. 332.

<sup>13</sup> Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 132 n. 10, calls attention to this usage of sons = successors.

<sup>14</sup> The use of the appellation "anchorite" might indicate that the community of Paulos was a *laura*, a community of ascetics, in contrast to a *koinobion*, a true brotherhood-monastery, as was that of Phoibammōn. Crum, *Epiphanius*, pp. 126 ff., discusses the two types. We might even say that Epiphanius and Paulos were the only two laural communities, *KRU* 106, 70, 104; references in *Epi.*, index, p. 364; Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 130 n. 2; *CO* 345, 378; *ST* 276, 3; 309, 4; 388, 24; 405, 4—all but *ST* 276 and 309 referring to one or the other.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 163 n. 20.



# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

[illegible]

21 ἡμακαριος	22 παπας; ἡπροεστως; ἡμακαριος	23 προλοκοττινος	27 ατπειεε
29 σαϣϣ; προλοκοττινος	32 επεπτολη	34 αηπροτρεπε	35 προλοκοττινος; ἡππομίσμα
37 προσεχε	38 εῖηχεα; ἡμῆτμοποχος	40 ἡμακαριος	42 page 2 of papyrus;
επωπιον	43 προλοκοττινος	44 ερϣαηπρωμε	45 ετρηχεα; προλοκοττινος
46 πτρίμνσιον	47 ἡπετρηχεα	49 ἡπειει	52 παποστολος; ἡτεῖπῶεοφιλεστατος

## 1. RELEASE

into the service of our holy fathers, the late and commemorated Apa Isaak and Apa Papas, the superiors, those who were the successors of the late Apa Paulos in this other life because of their immense, unspeakable virtues. I gave twenty *holokottinos* to them; I adjured them<sup>1</sup> in the name of God to take them from me (25) and give them as dispensation for my miserable soul, so that the Lord God should not overlook any of my wishes. Taking them from me only after a time of entreaty, they yielded to me about this matter of which I have spoken above; they took them from me. After some days had passed, I being in (the monastery) with my son who was a monk, they gave seven *holokottinos* (30) to me for my and my son's use. When, however, the great men, our spiritual fathers, Apa Isaak and Apa Papas, died, my son thought little of this life and was unable to keep the orders of our holy fathers. They sent him away. He went, and after a few days I suggested to the holy fathers that the other thirteen (35) *holokottinos* be satisfaction<sup>2</sup> for the 20 *nomismata*. They brought them and they gave them as charity for my miserable soul in the manner which I have related above, afterwards giving them as offerings for me in their work with the needy, either as clothing or any monastic need, so that I should live according to God, in my want of them, as in their great beatification they lived, (40) the late Apa Isaak and Apa Papas and our fathers.<sup>3</sup>

So now, on this day, I covenant that, in the presence of the Lord and this angelic life which is now mine, according to the tenor of these words, the thirteen *holokottinos* I requested them to give as charity for my soul. If one (45) was in need, to give with their own hands, whether *holokottinos* or *trimēzion* or whatsoever God should inspire into their souls; they were to give it with their own hands and to give it to him who needed, acting thus until they were used up, according to the wish of God. I, myself, as I went about daily, saw the devil envying our life so that I came in order to get (50) a blessing and take a great oath according to God and according to earth,<sup>4</sup> lest the curse which Ananias and Sapphira, his wife, justly suffered when they told lies to the Apostles<sup>5</sup> (should befall me).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Epi.* 204 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only occurrence of the word *symplērousis* in Coptic legal texts known to me; cf. the verb in *Lond.* 1631, 1, 6.

<sup>3</sup> The translation of this sentence is doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning obscure.

<sup>5</sup> The curse of Ananias and Sapphira is mentioned elsewhere; see Index of Persons, Non-Coptic Names and *KRU*, index, p. 429, but never in this full form.

[illegible]

56 еіпеіое	57 параграфи	58 ꙗꙋ	61 мпехристос	63 агаѡп	64 аїапанете;
їмакариос	66 епахрета	67 таїптелахристос	72 поте	73 пїтїпѡеофілестатос	
74 прѡлокоттїпос	76 пїтїпѡеофілестатос		77 пїаκастїрюп	78 пїаκастїрюп	
82 ершанота	84 пїпепетїмат				

## 1. RELEASE

I came and I requested your God-lovingnesses that you take this document of release<sup>1</sup> for your security and that of your spiritual successors, and those succeeding you for all times (55) and all generations. I, Mōsēs, he who is mentioned above, I wish and I believe, without any deceit or fear or duress or fraud or any artifice or ruse or any restraint brought to bear upon me, but of my own resolution and my heartfelt wish, that I agree and I swear by God Almighty and the health (60) of our lords and the angelic life which is now mine and the fearful tribunal of Christ at which all creation shall be arraigned, where each one shall be judged as to what he has done, both good and evil, that I gave to them and they gave for me all that I bestowed upon them, the late commemorated ones (65) and our elders. Up to today they gave to me: a third<sup>2</sup> for the needs of my body, but the good God is the one who shall satisfy them for these, not only my humbleness.

Every man shall observe it for them, acting upon it according to God. Thus, neither I nor son nor daughter nor brother nor sister nor first cousin nor second cousin nor (70) near relative nor distant relative nor stranger nor servant nor any man acting as my agent for one of my heirs, for one of my near relatives or for one of my distant relatives, shall be able at any period or time to sue your God-loving holy fathers or those ever succeeding you at any time, concerning the matter of this twenty *holokottinos* (75) which they gave for me in the manner I have stated above, even though they gave me only a third. Nor shall anyone be able to sue your God-lovingnesses and those succeeding you at any time, either in court<sup>3</sup> or out of court, or in city or in district,<sup>4</sup> or in any council of the city, whether praetorian or respected renowned place,<sup>3</sup> (80) whether a decree either by strong and holy royal decision or proper legal judgment, made and decided magisterially or ecclesiastically.

Above all, if one of my children or my heirs, either monk or layman, stranger or servant, should dare, primarily this one shall not benefit any thereby (85) but first he shall be estranged from the holy oath that serves him, the Father and the Son and

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Practically a third, i.e., 7 of 20 *holokottinos*. Not found elsewhere in Coptic documents.

<sup>3</sup> Steinwenter, pp. 58 ff.; so for other courts and legal procedure.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 19 n. 7.

- 90 **ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲓⲙⲟⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲩⲧⲧⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲃⲣⲧⲟⲓ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲡⲁⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲩⲡⲧⲉⲩⲣⲧⲡⲟⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓ ⲙⲙⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲩⲡⲧⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲡ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲛⲧ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲧⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲃⲟⲩⲗⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲟⲥⲧⲓⲙⲟⲓ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲣⲁⲥⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲡ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲡⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲧⲧⲣⲁⲫⲟⲛ ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲩⲧⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲙⲡⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲱⲣⲁ ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲓⲡⲓⲥⲟⲫⲓⲗⲧⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲡⲓⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲓ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲡⲓⲙ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲣⲛⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲡ ⲡⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁ ⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲫⲟⲃⲟⲥ ⲩⲓⲁⲕⲁⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲫⲟⲃⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲧⲣⲁⲫⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲱ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲛⲩⲩⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁ ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲟⲩⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲓⲕⲓⲥⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲃⲛⲁ ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ ⲡⲣⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲥⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲡⲧ ⲧⲓⲣⲉⲩⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ  
 100 ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲧⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲩⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲧⲧⲣⲁⲫⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁ ⲡⲡⲟⲙⲓⲙⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲙⲡⲧⲉⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲣⲁ ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲟⲫⲓⲗⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲡⲓⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲓ ⲱⲁⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲡⲓⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲣⲁ ⲉⲣⲟ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲉⲃⲉⲃⲁⲓⲟⲩⲧ ⲩⲙⲙⲁⲧⲧⲉⲡⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲉⲑⲁⲛⲓⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲓⲛⲧⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲱⲩⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲣⲙⲡⲓⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲟⲧⲙⲉⲩ  
 105 ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲧⲡⲟⲥⲧⲣⲁⲫⲉⲧⲥ ⲁⲩⲣⲧⲡⲟⲥⲧⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲩⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲁⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲡⲣⲉⲓⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲟⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲙⲁⲣⲧⲧⲣⲓⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲩⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲁ ⲧⲓⲣⲥ +  
 ⲫⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲙⲱⲛⲥⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲟⲡⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲁ ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲁ  
 ⲡⲣⲙⲡⲭⲱⲣⲓⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲩⲡⲓⲛⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲓⲩⲙⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲓⲛⲙⲉ  
 110 ⲡⲉⲡⲧⲁⲩⲱⲥⲣⲓⲥⲁⲓ ⲡⲧⲡⲉ ⲧⲓⲥⲧⲛⲭⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲧⲣⲁⲫⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲁⲱ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲃⲓ ⲡⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲛⲩⲩⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲟⲕ,, + ⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲓⲱⲁⲡⲓⲛⲥ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲡⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲗⲁⲥⲁⲣⲟⲥ  
 ⲡⲣⲙⲡⲛⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲓⲛⲙⲉ ⲁⲙⲱⲛⲥⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲟⲡⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲧⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲁⲓⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲩⲁⲣⲟⲩ +**

87 ⲩⲁⲧⲉⲓⲣⲧⲡⲟⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓ      90 ⲡⲣⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲩⲧⲧⲓⲟⲥ      92 ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲃⲟⲩⲗⲛ      94 ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲟⲫⲓⲗⲉⲥⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ  
 99 ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲥⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ      100 omit ⲡⲟⲩⲁ      102 ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲟⲫⲓⲗⲉⲥⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ      107 ⲧⲁⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲁ  
 108 page 3 of papyrus; 2nd hand (Iḥannēs); ⲙⲱⲧⲥⲓⲥ; ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ; ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧⲧⲉ      109 ⲡⲣⲓⲛⲥⲓⲱⲡ  
 110 ⲧⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩⲱⲥⲓ; ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲧⲣⲁⲫⲟⲛ; ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁ; ⲙⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲓⲙⲟⲛ      111 ⲱⲥ ⲡⲣⲟⲕⲉⲓⲧⲁⲓ; ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ;  
 ⲗⲁⲩⲁⲣⲟⲥ      112 ⲙⲱⲧⲥⲓⲥ; ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ

## 1. RELEASE

the Holy Ghost, and you shall subject him to the fearful tribunal of Christ to be judged for this action, and he shall suffer the lot of Ananias and Sapphira, and he shall suffer the lot of Judas, he who betrayed the Lord in all, and he shall pay the fixed (90) penalty of twenty-four *holokottinos* of pure gold,<sup>1</sup> and they shall lay claim for it from his own property by means of the illustrious magistrate of that time.<sup>2</sup> After the payment of the penalty he shall be brought in to acknowledge and establish the validity of this document of agreement, which is a release, this which I drew up for the security of your (95) God-lovingnesses and those succeeding you for all time.

I swear unto every holy magistrate, whether God-fearing bishop or God-fearing judge, who shall examine this document and who shall read what is written within it, by the holy consubstantial Trinity and the health of our lords and the fearful tribunal of Christ where all creation shall be arraigned (100) and each one (each one) shall be judged as to what he has done, both good and evil, that the validity of this document of statutory release<sup>3</sup> be preserved, this one which I drew up for the security of your God-loving holy fathers and those succeeding you for all time. It is valid, it is ruling, and it is binding in every place in which it shall be shown.

It was read to me in Egyptian, I heard it (105) with (my) ears, it was pleasing to me. I requested a scribe to sign it for me and I asked trustworthy witnesses to attest it for me. I uttered it, whereupon it was completed in all conformity.

+ I, Mōsēs, the humble monk, the son of the late Pluj, my mother (being) Tasia, man of the *chōrion*<sup>4</sup> Pshensiōn in the district<sup>5</sup> of the city of Coptos, now living in Kastron Jēme, (110) he who has been mentioned above, I sign<sup>6</sup> this document of release and the oath and penalty and everything written in it as it stands.

+ I, Iōhannēs,<sup>7</sup> the son of the late Lazaros, man of Kastron Jēme, Mōsēs, the humble monk, asked me, I wrote for him. +

<sup>1</sup> Boulard, p. 63 n. 3, has tabulated the penalty proportion in the *KRU* sales documents. It is questionable whether the proportion has any significance, for in our case the penalty would seem to be the same whether thirteen or twenty *holokottinos* were sued for.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *KRU* 37, 74; 44, 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *KRU* 93, 1; 110, 2; 65, 58 (Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 161 n. 1); *ST* 41, 2; 59, 3 (?).

<sup>5</sup> *Nomos* is a common topographical term and denotes the "*territorium*" of a city, and not "nome" in this period; see Steinwenter, p. 10; Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Literally "I agree to"; the phrase here means "I sign" or, at least, "I make a mark"; cf. Steinwenter, pp. 69 f.

<sup>7</sup> The well-known Iōhannēs Lazaros, cf. *JEA*, vol. XII, p. 273 n. 1, one of the early Jēme scribes, is the writer of 9; *KRU* 21, 35 (689 or 704), 38 (protocol dated 705–717), 42, 51; *CO* 421, Ad. 37; *ST* 75. He is also mentioned in *KRU* 39, 43, as a property owner.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

ѿ апок пшнре пеіелах, мпр<sup>ѣ</sup> аѿ прнцотме, птеклнсіа етотааб пжнме  
ѿ ммнре про тѣтсїс нпет-

сміне ммос + + апок петрос пшнре млмак<sup>а</sup> номос ѿω млтре +

115 + апон іернмiас пшнре мпман,<sup>а</sup> басілеіос фω мптре + + апон сетнрос  
пшнре мпман,<sup>а</sup> мωтснс фω мптре + апон затега апа еіωт нелете пал  
аісгаі

дароу аѡ аїсраї галернмїас Мпетрос жеметної їсраї +

† апок ѡрѡλомнос пшнре ппман, ѡанннс †ω ѡмтре прѡс знтисс  
ѡмѡтснс пмѡтнах +

† а҃ноѣ леоптіосъ пшнре нлмакаръ, кѣріаносъ † ѡ нлмѣре прѡсъ зѣтїсѣ  
нмѡтсѣнсѣ аѡѡ

120 אִיסְרָאִי רַב־בְּרֹחַ לְמִנּוֹס זֶמְעֻנוֹתִי נִסְרָאִי +

## 21 Корос

+ αποκ ιωβ ψυχε παταει2 μππευσον τλω μππτρε + απок απ2ρεас .

пшнре мпмакареос џер Ѡ мптре апок апа вѣктωр

пшнре мпмакарео папїотте аїсгаї гааїїареас жемеуної їсгаї

ατω ϖω μπρε +

125 ꙗ апок шепотѣ пειελαχ<sup>ос</sup> ꙗпрѣ птєкнλнсіа етотѣаѣ ꙗнмє ꙗω  
 мѣнтрє +++

**TAN**

+ ἀποπ κωστήννος μπιωαλλης πᾶποτλῆς πῶνρε μπμαν, соломων τπω

мнѣтре + сепот°, пелелач°с прѣ пѣклѣсѣ етотѣаѣ пѣжмн асѣраї раѣроот +

+ ἀποκ τὰ χαρίαις πειλάχ, μπρεσβ, μπρασιος κτριάκος τω μμπτρε +

+ апок аѡапасіос пшнре мпмак<sup>а</sup> палпотѡіос мнѣтріакос пшнре піωснѣ

130 мпвнтор пшнре мпман<sup>а</sup> їезникнл мпмаѳас пшнре мпман<sup>а</sup> їезникнл  
тпω мптре

+ апок затега пшнре псепрос агагеі ммї асгаг зароот жематпої  
псгаг +

† αποκ ειωτ ψυχη ψυχοτε ψελαχ, ἡπρεσβ, ἡπραγιος κοσμα ἡηφαγι θεο-  
 αωρος ἡμτεπροτρια ἡπανθεος †ο ἡμαρττορος εἰπεντραφῶν παμεριμνια  
 προς

**ΤΑΥΤΗΣΙΣ ΔΕΩΤΗΣΙΣ +**

113 3rd hand (Pshêre); περειαχιστος; ἡπρεσβυτερος; πριγοτμενος; προς ταυτησις	114 4th
hand (Daveid); ἡπμακαριος; κοмес; ἡμπτре	115 ἡпмаκαριος; ἡμπτре
ἡμπτре	116 ἡпмаκαριος;
118 5th hand (Leontios); βαροδοματος; ἡпмаκαριος; ἡμπτре; προς ταυτησις;	
πμοποχος	119 ἡпмаκαριος; ἡμπτре; προς таυτησις
120 6th hand (Iob?);	
121 6th hand (Iob?);	
122 ἡпмаκαριος; πхер; ἡμπτре	123 ἡпмаκαριος
124 ἡμπτре	125 8th hand (Shenute); περειαχιστος; ἡпρεсбυτερος
126 8th hand (Shenute);	
127 8th hand (Shenute);	
128 9th hand (Zacharias); πειλαχιστος; ἡпρεсбυτερος	129 4th hand (Daveid);
130 ἡпмаκαριος	132 10th hand (Eiôt); πειλαχιστος; ἡпρεсбυτερος; ἡпραγιος
133 10th hand (Eiôt);	
134 11th hand (Eiôt);	

## 1. RELEASE

+ I, Pshēre, the humble priest and *hēgemōn*<sup>1</sup> of the Holy Church of Jēme, I am witness at the request of him who executed it. +

+ I, Petros,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late Komes, I am witness. +

(115) + I, Ieremias,<sup>3</sup> the son of the late Basileios, I am witness. +

+ I, Sevēros,<sup>4</sup> the son of the late Mōsēs, I am witness. + I, Daveid, Apa Eiōt ordered me and I wrote for him and I wrote for Ieremias and Petros since they do not know how to write. +

+ I, Bartholomaïos, the son of the late Iōhannēs, I am witness at the request of Mōsēs, the monk. +

+ I, Leontios, the son of the late Kyriakos, I am witness at the request of Mōsēs and (120) I wrote for Bartholomaïos since he did not know how to write. +

+ I, Iōb, the son of Daveid, and his brother Di(os)coros, we are witnesses.

+ I, Andreas,<sup>5</sup> the son of the late Phēr, I am witness. I, Apa Biktōr, the son of the late Papnuthios, I wrote for Andreas since he did not know how to write and I am witness. +

(125) + I, Shenute, the humble priest of the Holy Church of Jēme, I am witness. + + +

+ We, Kōstantinos<sup>6</sup> and Iōhannēs,<sup>7</sup> the ex-*lashane*,<sup>8</sup> the sons of the late Solomōn, we are witnesses. + Shenute, the humble priest of the Holy Church of Jēme, I wrote for them. +

+ I, Zacharias, the humble priest of the Holy Kyriakos, I am witness. +

+ I, Athanasios,<sup>9</sup> the son of the late Papnuthios, and Kyriakos,<sup>10</sup> the son of Iōsēph, (130) and Biktōr, the son of the late Iezekiēl, and Mathias, the son of the late Iezekiēl, we are witnesses. + I, Daveid,<sup>11</sup> the son of Sevēros, they asked me, I wrote for them since they did not know how to write. +

I, Eiōt, the son of Shenute, the humble priest of the Holy Kosma and Holy Theodōros in the territory<sup>12</sup> of Pakōthis, I am witness to this document of release at the request of Mōsēs. +

<sup>1</sup> The *hēgemōn* is an ecclesiastical superior, generally of the Holy Church of Jēme, but also of monasteries; cf. *KRU*, index, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> Petros Komes reappears as village official, *lashane* or *dioikētēs*, in *KRU* 9, 9; 21, 8 (scribe: Iōhannēs Lazaros); 35, 103 (689 or 704; scribe: Iōhannēs); 50, 14; 51, 5 (scribe: Iōhannēs); 52, 1 (scribe: Aristophanē). In *KRU* 55 he is the addressee of a document which may concern the dissolution of a partnership.

<sup>3</sup> Ieremias Basileios reappears in a text, the notary of which is Aristophanē, *ST* 432, 2.

<sup>4</sup> A *lashane* in 5, 50.

<sup>5</sup> Reappears as witness in 2, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Also a witness in *KRU* 10, 65 (scribe: Aristophanē); 18, 74; 35, 100 (689 or 704; scribe: Iōhannēs Lazaros); in the latter also as ex-*lashane*.

<sup>7</sup> Iōhannēs is witness with his brother in *KRU* 10, 66.

<sup>8</sup> See Steinwenter, p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Reappears in *ST* 84; *CO* 414, 10; 415, 13; *Ad.* 66, 9.

<sup>10</sup> Signs *KRU* 105, 29, as priest.

<sup>11</sup> Daveid Sevēros is perhaps the same as he who writes for the parties in 6, 50, 52.

<sup>12</sup> *Enoria* is the equivalent of *territorium*; see Steinwenter, p. 10; Wilcken, *Grds.*, p. 77; it occurs in Coptic texts only here.



## TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

135 + ἀποκ ταμοτλ πσινρε μπμαν, ελσαϊος ρμπσῆριαι φο μμαρττρος'  
 еиентрафон'

**намеріння апок еіот пепресѣ, аїсраї гароч жемацпої +**

+ апок сѣтѣрос пшнре ꙗмакарѣос сотаї плащане ꙗпшѣнсїѡн ꙗ  
ꙗмартѣрос +

+ αποκ θαλασσιος ψηρε ιμμαναριος ανωνιος ενψισιον τω πμντρε  
επεχαρτης ποε εττης σρατ  
μος +

**+ ἀποκ υπενετωμ πλαψανε πατη πρηπμακαριος ἰωκωῆ τῶ**

140 митри<sup>-</sup>млехартис ѿе птеусгаї нмос ++

ѣ апок цате пшнре дпман, псранл амѡтснс пелел<sup>х</sup> ммон<sup>х</sup> алтеі дмоі  
алсмп пелеттаф,

**ПРИМЯНЕНИЕ ПТДБІЖ +**

**+ ΜΩϞCΗC ΠΛΟΥΞ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ**

135 καμωτλ; ἡπμακαριος; επιεττραφον  
hand (Sevēros?); ἡππῆσιων; ἡμарттрос

птеусраг ймос

139 13th hand (Shenetōm?)

141 1st hand (Psate);  $\mu\pi\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\mu\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\tau\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\mu$   
hand?;  $\pi\lambda\omicron\tau\alpha$

136 п̄амерімпейа; непресѣттерос

137 11th

138 12th hand (Athanasios?); ⲉⲙⲛⲩⲥⲱⲛ; ⲙⲙⲡⲣⲉ;

140 ммпре; ммос

143 Verso. New

## 1. RELEASE

(135) + I, Kamul, the son of the late Elisaïos in Pshenhiai, I am witness to this document of release. I, Eiōt, the priest, I wrote for him since he did not know how. +

+ I, Sevēros, the son of the late Suai, the *lashane* of Pshensiōn, I am witness. +

+ I, Athanasios, the son of the late Antōnios, in Pshensiōn, I am witness to this document in the manner it is written.

+ I, Shenetōm, the *lashane* of Pavē, the son of the late Iakōb, I am (140) witness to the document in the manner it is written. + +

+ I, Psate,<sup>1</sup> the son of the late Pisraēl, Mōsēs, the humble monk, asked me, I drew up this document in Egyptian with my own hand. +

+ Mōsēs, (the son) of Pluj, testament.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The notary Psate Pisraēl I think is the earliest of the well-known Jēme scribes. He is scribe of 5; *KRU* 23, 36, 37, 44; *ST* 65, 77, 78; *CO* 413, 420, 424–426, 429–430. In *KRU* 35, 106 (scribe: Iōhannēs Lazaros; dated 689 or 704) he is a witness.

<sup>2</sup> On this particular usage of *diathēkē*, see *supra*, p. 17.

## 2. RECEIPT

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession number 24.2.5.

Size: 29'5 × 24'5 cm. Fibers: vertical.

Recto: 26 lines. Verso: 4 + 1 lines.

Plates IV and VII a.

### INTRODUCTION

FIVE years after the execution of 1,<sup>1</sup> Mōsēs and his son Theodōros address a document called, in non-technical language, simply "document of agreement," to the superiors of the same monastery of Apa Paulos. We are told that Mōsēs has become ill

<sup>1</sup> So also Crum, see *supra*, p. 10.

### TEXT

змпрап мпеиwt мпшнре мпппна етотааѳ змпоот нроот етесотжотшмнн  
нраѳωр нтромпе нтеттерос  
апон мωѳснс мпѳеозωрос ммопохос енсраї нпенеиоте етотааѳ нѳенеете  
мпенеиwt етотааѳ нѳеωфорос  
апа патлос· етеапа заннл пе мпала аѳанасиос [мн]апа сетнрос же  
епан нтерепнотте отωш етраеiereаї етшоне пнотте  
зптамнтрлло еннротн мпала матаат аменмотнт же мнпозе нте он отωш  
етраапоанмеи шароц· ацрро[те]  
5 жеппетапросфора сωрм аїтїноот аїп апа аѳасиос мпала сетнрос аїт  
пететнтнї ммаѳ лепωн нтеретнтн[оот]  
нсапашнре етеѳеозωрос етрецеї пѳѳанωнеї ерої змпашоне апеннт нтаїт  
тапросфора нат тамої же  
еф осон пеншнре пентацољн змпеншоне палкаїон он пе пѳаннеї нтен-  
просфора нтерейтwt [отн]  
ежїпρωѳ· пентаїтаац тнрѳ н<sup>а</sup> аттаац наї шазраї еттермнсион нотwt  
таат  
аї//////// нпашнр[е ет]рецтааѳ зарої  
[н]тероттаат [отн] нан атотωш ешне псаотеттрафон нтотн етѳрж нат  
мпетсωотр еротн тнрѳ· тепоѳ  
10 змпоотωш мпнотте· апон мωѳснс мпѳеозωрос енсраї нпенеиоте етотааѳ  
наї нтапономазе ммоц  
зїтпе же мптанлаѳ нрѳѳ нмматн жнмпоот еон атω шаенер епшантолма  
же потан наїрѳ  
ежронот нтнї еѳѳл ерѳтн· залаѳ нрѳѳ етеалон еїте сон еїте сѳне еїте  
шнре еїте шнрейшнре  
еїте клнропомос еїте жѳр еїте жѳрїжѳр· прѳтѳн мен ецешѳне ецѳ ншммо  
епеиwt мпшнре

1 мпппнетма; етесотжотшмнне; ндеттерос	2 нѳеѳфорос	3 етраеiere	4 мнпоте
5 аѳанасиос; пететнтнї; логїон	6 пѳананнеї; апеннт; тапросфора	7 пѳанннеї	
8 еттермнсион	9 нтоотн	11 мптанлаѳ; жнмпоот; поте	12 н жронос; залаѳ
13 прѳтон			

## 2. RECEIPT

and that Theodōros, who has returned to private life as we expected from 1, has been recalled to take care of him. The monastery has returned to them the money which Mōsēs had given and this is a receipt for it. It is difficult to determine definitely what money is concerned, as, according to 1, the monastery has been released from all obligation to Mōsēs. The language of 2 might indicate that Mōsēs, subsequent to the execution of 1, had turned over another sum which was now being returned to the father and son. It is, however, more probable that the monastery disregarded the earlier document—in fact, this may have been the intention of Mōsēs—and is now returning the thirteen *holokottinos*.

The reiteration of the receipt by Theodōros in the last part of the text<sup>1</sup> is unusual but probably only serves to give added security to the monastery.

<sup>1</sup> Lines 16–24.

---

### TRANSLATION

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, on this day which is the twenty-eighth of Hathōr of the second year.

I, Mōsēs, and Theodōros,<sup>1</sup> the monks, we write to our holy fathers of the monastery of our holy theophorous father, Apa Paulos, namely, Apa Daniēl and Apa Athanasios [and] Apa Sevēros.<sup>2</sup> When God had wished that I should fall sick in my old age while I was living alone, lest God should wish that I depart to him, fearing (5) lest my offering should be lost, I sent for and had brought Apa Athanasios and Apa Sevēros, and I gave that which was mine. Besides, when my son Theodōros was sent for to come and take care of me in my illness, the brethren to whom I had given my offering told me, since he is your son, he is the one to watch over you in your sickness. It is also right that he should attend to your offering. [Then] when I had agreed upon the fact that I had given it all to them, they gave it back to me, to the last *trimēsion*. I gave them to my son that he should give them for me. So when they had given them to us they desired a document from us for their security and that of their whole community.

Now (10) by the wish of God, I, Mōsēs, and Theodōros, we write to our holy fathers, those whom we have named above, that we will have no further affair with you from today on or ever. If we dare at any time or season to dispute with you about any matter, that is, we or a brother or a sister or a son or a grandson or an heir or a near relative or a distant relative, in the first place that one shall be estranged

<sup>1</sup> Neither Mōsēs nor Theodōros appears elsewhere than in 1 and 2, although the latter could write, an exceptional ability among the native Copts, and it would be thought he might have acted as notary upon retiring from the monastic life. Perhaps he did, but not at Jēme.

<sup>2</sup> See 1, introduction.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

мплѣнѣ етогаѣ ѡтерон ѡ е ѡсепараскетезе ѡмоч рѣтѣпархѡн етѣѡнѣ  
 тѣмѡ  
 пѣѣ пѣпрос

15 ἡμαρτасе пролог, ἡποτὴ ποῦριοи ΜΗΨως Πῦει εροτн Πῦρων επееτтрафон  
 промолотια прос теу  
 апон θεοωρος пеелаχ, εισραї ἡпeneioτε etotaab же †ctyx : аτω †ροмо-  
 лотей мпемто ебол  
 ἡпποtte ΜΠτεзотcia etтнш ебол зитоотѣ же петеотнтнѣ пнрѣ мпaeиwt аѣи  
 etoтн eγōx ἡтeγpe  
 шaзpaї etнepaтiон ἡотwt. eшaнтoлma же ΜΠΨcатepoмoлoтcia ἡтaeи ебол  
 epwtн eпaшoпe eиkнп

еперіма мпанаш етоааб пейот мпшире мпейна етоааб аѡ пта†  
 пепростімоп ммаѡтасе пролон,  
 20 мпїѡс птаеі еротп птарѡп епееѡтрафон прос теѡѡм. петпажѡпї отп  
 епееѡтрафон. еіте аѡхѡ  
 еі прѡпѡетнс етеѡѡт пѡме еѡтнш еѡѡт птаѡіс пѡтмѡотп еѡѡл мпѡп  
 фоп  
 птме прос тѡм мпееѡ  
 еѡпнѡт епѡнма мпнѡтте птаѡіс ѡп нмаѡ. аѡ пѡшѡпе еѡпн епѡѡѡт  
 етѡпѡтрафн етоааб птаѡѡрї<sup>зе</sup>  
 мѡѡ еѡпѡетнарїне еѡѡл птме. еѡѡѡѡ отп пнтї апѡмїне еѡтрафон ѡѡѡѡ  
 ѡ[ѡ пѡѡ]іс  
 етпмѡфанїзе мѡѡ пѡнтѡ + апѡн апѡѡѡс мпѡнѡ ѡмпаѡтѡп пѡнме †  
 ммѡтѡре еѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ + апѡн  
 пшїре пѡпнѡл  
 25 ѡѡѡѡѡѡс рмѡѡѡѡѡѡп ѡѡѡѡт ѡнме †ѡ ммѡтѡре еѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ + апѡн  
 ѡѡѡѡѡѡс пѡѡѡѡѡ, ммѡѡѡѡѡс аѡшїне ммѡї аї-  
 ѡѡї ѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡї пѡѡѡ +

† ἀποκ θεοζωρος πρηρε μμωтнс αςμн пееттрафон п̄ρομολογια π̄τασιχ  
прос тнталіс

**млаиѡт: аѡ ѳстѣх ероу прос теѣсом мнрѡѡ нм еѣсно ероу + + +  
+ анон аноснорос пшнре нлааѣна ѳѡ**

30 ммйтре +

еѣтрафон нтмотскс / мпѳеозѳрос пещшнре

14 <b>μῆπειππετμα</b> ; <b>ἡσπαρὰσκηταζε</b> ; <b>πεπρостιμον</b>	15 <b>ἡρολοκοττικος</b> ; <b>κοῤῥηζον</b>
16 <b>πεελαχιστος</b> ; <b>†στοιχει</b>	17 <b>πετεοῤῥηταз</b> ; <b>тиρῃ</b> ; <b>ετοοῤῥ</b> ; <b>ετοοτοх</b>
19 <b>μῆπειππετμα</b> ; <b>ἡρολοκοττικος</b>	20 <b>αρχων</b>
21 <b>μπεεετтраφον</b>	22 <b>ετπαεμφανιζε</b> ; <b>πхер</b> ; <b>†ω</b>
23 <b>2 Verso</b> ; <b>πшире</b> ; <b>ταττιςс</b>	24 <b>†στοιχει</b>
	25 <b>2nd hand</b>
	26 <b>31 Inverted, 3rd hand</b>

## 2. RECEIPT

from the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Secondly, he shall be brought before the revered magistrates and he shall pay the penalty (15) of thirty-six *holokottinos*<sup>1</sup> of pure gold. Then he shall appear and acknowledge the validity of this document of agreement.

I, Theodōros, the humble, I write to the holy fathers that I sign and I covenant, before God and the power established through him, that all which my father possesses came unto us, complete, down to the last *trimēšion*.

If I should dare, after this agreement, to dispute with you it shall happen that I shall be liable to judgment of the holy oath, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and that I shall pay the penalty of thirty-six *holokottinos*. (20) Then I shall appear and acknowledge the validity of this document. He who shall examine the document then, whether magistrate or official or one holding any office, who shall not uphold its validity by just decision, he shall appear before the tribunal of God and the law shall be taken with him and he shall become liable to the curses of the Holy Scriptures, as ordained for those who shall turn aside from the right.

For your security we drew up the document to be valid [and binding] wherever it shall be shown.

+ I, Andreas,<sup>2</sup> (the son) of Phēr, in Kastron Jēme, I am witness to this agreement.

+ I, (25) Athanasios, the son of Daniēl, man of the same Kastron Jēme, I am witness to this agreement. I, Theodōros, the humble monk, they asked me and I wrote for them since they did not know how to write. +

+ I, Theodōros, the son of Mōsēs, I drew up this document of agreement in my own hand at the request of my father and I sign it, as to its validity and everything written herein. + + +

+ I, Dioscoros,<sup>3</sup> the son of Daveid, I am (30) witness. +

Document of Mōsēs...and Theodōros, his son.

<sup>1</sup> The penalty in 1 was 24 *holokottinos*.

<sup>2</sup> Witness in 1, 121.

<sup>3</sup> Dioscoros Daveid, brother of Iōb, is witness in 1, 121.

### 3. PETITION FOR FURLOUGH: GUARANTY

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession number 24.2.6.

Size: 42 × 30 cm. Fibers: horizontal and vertical.

Recto: 10 + 4 (Greek) lines. Verso: 2 (Greek) lines.

Plates V and VII b.

#### INTRODUCTION

3 is one of the most important of our texts. It is the first instance of what may be called "surety for furlough"<sup>1</sup> that has been found among Jēme texts.<sup>2</sup> Chaēl and Iōhannēs, serfs of Kastron Jēme, write to the illustrious emīr,<sup>3</sup> petitioning for a permit for three monks of the monastery of Apa Paulos to journey to the Fayyūm to sell their ropework.<sup>4</sup> If the three-month furlough be granted, the addressors agree to go surety for the monks.

Heretofore three other localities have produced examples of *sigillia*, or permits, namely Memphis,<sup>5</sup> Hermopolis,<sup>6</sup> and Aphrodito,<sup>7</sup> though none so complete as ours.

<sup>1</sup> Other surety documents are common, e.g., *KRU* 115, 119; *CO* 29, 42, 48, 81, 86, 133; and numerous others; also *ST* 55, 426; *Epi.* 255, 458; *Tor.* 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> The notary of the Coptic portion of the document is the well-known Aristophanē Iōhannēs, but this seems to be the only document of its kind extant. No other person of this document appears elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> 3, except for the invocation, is wholly without the usual formulae of the Jēme texts; it is, however, a petition and thus peculiar. It seems strange that it should have been kept at Jēme, as the Greek text of the group shows us (see *supra*, p. 16), unless it is a copy.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Crum, *Ephraimianus*, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, p. 6 n. 2; K. Sethe and J. Partsch, *Demotische Burgschaft...*, pp. 510 f., present the scheme of the Ieremias texts.

<sup>6</sup> *CPR* 120–122.

<sup>7</sup> *Lond.* 1540, 1633. Cf. the interesting tax list of monks granted *sigillia* in the Greek papyrus *P. Lond.* IV 1419, 1328 ff.

#### TEXT

+ ρμπραν μπκοττε ριτοοτη χανλ μπῶρα[ιηης κ]ετπσατον ἱρμπετη-  
αοτλιον καстрон-χме петсраї

шпетхоeis петκλ,<sup>4</sup> намира ατω τирниη ἡτετ[η]μῆτχοeis εβολ ριτμπκοττε  
μῆσанаї επειαν πтапей-

μονοχος μпκοτλωλ ἡαпа πατλος μптоот пхме ет[η]ати пенсраї етс[о]х[η]  
ни[η]η και -тенот

етп[η]α[α]стаде ммоот емпеснт ἡте[η]επ[η]στολη· εαοτωш εβωη ер[η]т ептош  
мпейоом ἡсотти

5 теткоτῖ мпрагматеia ἡпотρ εβολ ет[η]ε[т]етасис κпетρ[η]сe мпотеш[η]с[η]ом  
ἡсотр паї χω[η]с пс[η]ελλин

ἡте[η]μῆτχοeis т[η]паранаλει οτη ἡτε[η]τ[η]μῆτχοeis ет[η]α[η]и[η]т етретет[η]келете  
ἡсотти отс[η]ελλин

ἡат м[η]ρ[η]с[η]он -ἡшом[η]т ἡебот ж[η]μпоот ἡроот таротс[η]н ое ἡ[η]ωη ер[η]т ἡсотти  
теткоτῖ

4 μпеснт

5 пс[η]ελλион

6 ет[η]а[η]и[η]т; отс[η]ελλион

### 3. PETITION

A number of short applications for permits, accompanied by promises of guaranty, were addressed by two or three monks<sup>1</sup> of the monastery of Apa Ieremias to the superior of the same monastery, requesting a permit for another monk to go to Egypt (Cairo?) and guaranteeing his return, or the payment of his poll tax. The other texts add nothing new.

Our document sets forth clearly the object of the petition and contains the interesting note that the monks have paid their last poll tax.<sup>2</sup> Just what purpose the guaranty served, it is somewhat difficult to determine; return to the monastery or payment of the next poll tax seems the most plausible. It is to be noted that a number of surety documents deal with travel from one point to another on some pretext or other. This might point to legislation by the government, exacting sureties in these cases to protect the collection of the taxes by guaranteeing the production of the individual at a future date.<sup>3</sup> The close of our document contains the names of the monks for whom the permit is desired, besides their residence and identification, all in Greek, but surety is mentioned for only the first of the three. Perhaps repetition for the other monks was thought unnecessary. Or the surety of the serfs may not have been satisfactory.

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<sup>1</sup> See J. Krall, "Neue koptische und griechische Papyrus," *RT*, vol. VI (1885), p. 72, for interchange of guarantors, assured, and witnesses in these texts.

<sup>2</sup> On *dēmosion*, see Steinwenter, "Kinderschenkungen...", p. 186 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See the texts cited *supra*, p. 34 n. 1, and a collection of Coptic surety documents in Sethe and Partsch, *Demotische Burgschaft...*, pp. 502 ff. The author is now engaged upon a study of guaranty in Coptic law, which will deal further with this and other texts of the same nature.

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### TRANSLATION

In the name of God, through us, Chaēl and Iōhannēs, your serfs,<sup>1</sup> men of your subservient<sup>2</sup> Kastron Jēme, their epistle unto their lord, their illustrious emir, peace unto your lordship from God, hereafter.

Since some monks of the Kulōl of Apa Paulos on the mount of Jēme, who shall deliver our worthless epistles to you, those whom we shall designate below in this petition,<sup>3</sup> wished to go north to the district of the Fayyūm and sell (5) their small amount of rope which is the result of their labors, they are unable to do this without a permit (seal) from your lordship. Therefore, we request your revered lordship to order that a permit be given to them for the period of three months from today on, so

<sup>1</sup> See Steinwenter, pp. 50 f.

<sup>2</sup> These words are practically unknown in legal texts.



# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

μπραγματεια ηποτρ εβολ ετθετεστασις ηπετρικε μπτετωπωρ ατω ρεπ-  
ελετθερος

ηρωμε νε ατω εις τετεττα αηχιτε επετπροσωπον αητηηποστε πωτετμηητχοεις  
10 ατω τρηνη ηητη εβολ ριτμηποστε μπησαναϊ + ατω αττι πετριχωστ  
ρηνημοσιον η ιβ ι'

+ γν<sup>ω</sup> σιγελλ<sup>ω</sup> α ον<sup>ν</sup>γ ε μμ γ οφειλ<sup>ω</sup> κατελ<sup>ω</sup> ει νομ<sup>ω</sup> αρσινοϊτου

ιωσηφ πατ<sup>δ</sup>ζουεν<sup>γ</sup> ου πα<sup>υ</sup>χ σιτο<sup>χ</sup> / καυκου υπο αν<sup>τ</sup>φ<sup>ω</sup>

θεοδωρ<sup>ω</sup> αθα<sup>ν</sup> ου καυκου μελ<sup>ω</sup> / στριβλοφ<sup>ω</sup> υπο

μαρκου ταυρι<sup>ν</sup> ου καυκου μαρ<sup>ο</sup> κον<sup>δ</sup> υπο

15 + ιδιοι<sup>ω</sup> αγ, / θεοφιλ, / μ δεσπ<sup>ο</sup> / π τιμ<sup>η</sup> πρ<sup>κ</sup> αξι<sup>ω</sup> / μεγ<sup>λ</sup> προστ / ευερ<sup>ω</sup> τω υπερφ<sup>ω</sup>  
/ παν<sup>ω</sup> αμिरα + χαηλ / ιωαννου αυ<sup>τ</sup> δου<sup>λλ</sup> +

---

8 μπτετωπωρ	9 τετεττα	10 ινδικτιονος	11 + γνωσις σιγελλων α ονοματα γ εις μηνας γ
οφειλουσι κατελθειν επι νομου αρσινοϊτου	12 παχυς και σιτοχροος και καυκου υπο αντιφωνητου	13 καυκου	
μελανος και στροβ	15 ιδιφ αγαθφ και θεοφιλεστατφ και μεγαλφ μου (?) δεσποτφ και πατρι (?) τιμοτατφ (?) αξιφ και		
μεγαλφ προστατφ και....ευεργετφ τφ υπερφνεστατφ και πανευφημφ αμिरα + χαηλ και ιωαννου αυτου δουλοι +			

### 3. PETITION

that they find a way to go north and sell their small amount of rope, which is the result of their labors and their life. They also are free men, and lo, we give surety for their persons. We sent it unto your lordship (10) and peace unto you<sup>1</sup> from God, hereafter.

And they paid that which was due of them as taxes for the twelfth indiction.

+ One list of permits for three persons for three months, permitting them to go to the Arsinoite nome.

Iōsēph, son of Patzuen..., man (?), thick-skinned and yellowish and of the Cup,<sup>2</sup> upon surety.

Theodōros, son of Athanasios, man of the Cup, dark-skinned and corpulent, upon...

Markos, son of Taurinus, man of the Cup,...knuckle, upon...

(15) To the proper, good, God-loving and great lord and father, the esteemed... worthy and great protector, and...beneficent, illustrious, and praiseworthy emir.<sup>3</sup> Chaël and Iōhannēs...serfs.

<sup>1</sup> The second person plural is incorrect here.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek equivalent of the Coptic Kulōl, the site of the monastery of Apa Paulos.

<sup>3</sup> For the equivalence of *pagarchos* and emīr, see Steinwenter, pp. 9 f.

## 4. RELEASE

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession number 24. 2. 7.

Size: 38 × 29.5 cm. Fibers: vertical.

Recto: 29 lines. Verso: 3 lines.

Plates VI and VII c.

### INTRODUCTION

4 is a document of release, acknowledging that the addressor, Merkurios, has received full payment for a millstone<sup>1</sup> set up in the bakery of the monastery of Apa Paulos.

<sup>1</sup> Though consistently written "stone door," undoubtedly a millstone is meant, as Crum holds. This is determined by its usage to produce bread for the monks and for charity to the poor. On *trapeza*, "charity," see Crum, *Ephraïmus*, p. 173.

### TEXT

ϣ. εν ονοματι του πρς / του τιοτ / του ατιот πнс етраф, мнос аѳтр нѣ  
иная, прѡтис:

апоп мернотриос пшнре мпман, захариас ѡμπшнсіων ραппомос итнолс  
нѣт еѣсраї нѣ-

ѳеофилест, монохос [а]па ханиа мпапа іанѡѣ се мпапа аѳанасіос  
непроестѡс иѳенеете

мпенпетотааѣ иѣѡт апа патлос ѡмптоот мпнастрон иѣнме ραппомос  
итнолс рмо[нт]

5 же епан аїпѳе мптетнмптеіѡт емплаат ианатян нн еѣраї ерої ѡтѣ ρѡте  
ѣиѣнѡн[с]

аλλα ѡмпаѡтѡш мпн мої мпѡтпроѣресіс естахнт мпѡтлѡсісмос  
натпѡѡне еаїѣ [е-]

[ѣ]ѡл ннтн птапѣлн иѡне таї итаїтарос ρнтенлнропѡма инаѣіѡте еаїи  
ѣепрос[ѡ-]

пѡп иѣѡтпсете пат аѡ иѣѡсімастнс етеісаан пшнре мпман, паппотѳіос  
не еа[ѣ-]

сѣнтімаѣе ммос аѣаѣс иѣшар епѣнаіѡн мпѡтте еатетнстоіхе ероѣ нмаї  
еаѣсѣнтімаѣе

10 ммос еспат итрімсіѡн ипѡтѣ еіс ρннте ѡтн ѣѣромологей же атетпапѡлогіѣ  
наї мпснат

итрімсіѡн епѣѡн итестімн аѣеі еѡѡт епанѡѡѣ еѣмеѣ тетнмптеіѡт ѡтн  
еѡт мпѣѡеіс

1 патрос; / = και; ппетматос; етрафн; ипѣктіѡпос 2 мпмакаріос 3 ѳеофилестатос  
5 аіпѳе 7 итапѣлн 8 иѣѡсімастнс; мпмакаріос 11 епанѡѣ

## 4. RELEASE

The document is termed *amerimneia*,<sup>1</sup> discharge, and in this instance, contrary to 1,<sup>2</sup> indicates that the full price has been received.<sup>3</sup> A disinterested third person fixed the value of the millstone, which value was accepted by both parties, the superiors, Daniēl, Iakōb, and Athanasios,<sup>4</sup> acting for the monastery. It is interesting to note that Merkurios was a villager of Pshensiōn, the same village of the district of Coptos that Mōsēs of 1 hailed from, a fact perhaps indicating that it was due to the latter's influence that the monastery purchased the stone from Merkurios.

<sup>1</sup> 4, 13, 19.

<sup>2</sup> See 1, introduction, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *KRU* 52, 27, a discharge receipt for a sum of money paid in accordance with a judicial determination; *CPR* III, 7, a discharge receipt for a tax payment; *Ryl.* 214, 6, an agreement describing a debt as discharged.

<sup>4</sup> The superiors addressed in 1; see introduction to that text.

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## TRANSLATION

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Written the month of Athyr, the twenty-second, indiction the first.

I, Merkurios,<sup>1</sup> the son of the late Zacharias, in Pshensiōn of the district of the city of Koptos, he writes to the most pious monks, Apa Daniēl and Apa Iakōb and Apa Athanasios, the superiors of the monastery of our holy father Apa Paulos on the mount of the Kastron of Jēme in the district of the city of Hermonthis, (5) saying :

Since I was persuaded by your fatherhoods without any force brought to bear on me, or fear or compulsion, but of my own wish and a fixed resolution and immovable judgment, I sold to you a millstone which I set up in the inheritance of my fathers,<sup>2</sup> and I brought trustworthy and experienced persons, namely, Isaak,<sup>3</sup> the son of the late Papnuthios, so that [he] evaluate it. He set a price upon it, by the justice of God, upon which you agreed with me; for he evaluated (10) it at two *trimēsia* of gold.

Behold, now, I covenant that you settled with me for the two *trimēsia*, as the payment of its price. They were received by me; they were agreeable and satis-

<sup>1</sup> Merkurios is not found elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the elders of the monastery.

<sup>3</sup> Isaak Papnuthios recurs in *Epi.* 93, 1; see *supra*, p. 11.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

- ππτλн πтетптагос ρμпернастирион мпетнмонастирион етφιλοναλει /  
 ἵπоеи π-  
 песнит мпжо ебол ететрапиζа ἵпгнне еатетпшине ρитоот ἵсаотеттрафон  
 наме-  
 ριμνια ειρομολογει же ете анон ете пашнре ете κληροпомос еπωῖ пе ете  
 кероме ебол  
 15 ρμπαгенос ете жωρ ете жωρῖжωρ ἵпеллаат ἵрωме ешσμсом пει ебол  
 епетнмонас-  
 тирион ρаτπτλн ἵωпне ἵтеимне ете ἵτωтн ете петпнт мпῖсωтн шаенер  
 ἵотоеиш  
 етће же атетпаполотize наῖ ἵтестимн асеи етоот ешшаншωпе же поте καιρω  
 н хроно[с]  
 καθ αιον аптоте тропон петпатоλма пτjeи ебол епетнмонастирион ρаτпро-  
 φасис таῖ  
 πετοωш епараβα мпенеттрафон памеримνια ἵтаῖшрпкаас едраῖ прωтон  
 мен ἵпесφφилесθαῖ  
 20 ἵλλαат ρион птазic ним ρезотcиa аλλα еynaтi соот нролон, мпростимон  
 атω мпсапепрости-  
 мон ерепенеттрафон пашωпе еytaжрнт шаенер етарно пархн ним ρезотcиa  
 ним е-  
 терепенеттрафон паеи етоотῃ мпнотте ппантократωρ мпсωтириа ἵпенжи-  
 сооте етарх[ei]  
 ежωп етпараβα ммоу шаенер еτωρж ἵтетнмптеиωт аῖшрпкаас пнтн  
 едраῖ мпнетпнт  
 мпῖсωтн еynaшωпе ешσмсом еynтpиетсθαῖ ρма ним етнаемфаниze ммоу  
 нгнтῃ ρитпот-  
 25 ποτтраφн мфтпоτтраφος птацсгαιу мпназионистос ммарттрос ειρομολογει  
 ἵтеиге + + +  
 анон φιλοθεос пшнре мпестпнѳиос ϕо марттрос + анон θωмас пшнре псотаῖ  
 ρмпеоикне ϕо марттрос +  
 анон самотнλ ппресб, ϕо ммарттрос +  
 + γι емот κалаписιот θиос cпот<sup>ο</sup> еλ<sup>χ</sup> пресб, амма носма  
 / αββα θε-  
 οωροτ етраψас +  
 30 ϕ пептрафон нромολогia ммерноттриос пшнре пzaχαριαс ρатπτλн пωпне  
 епн тнс прωтнс + ικλн<sup>т</sup>  
 + анон ἱсаη пшнре мпман, палпнотте ϕото ммарттрос +

12 ἵтмτλн; / = ?	13 ететрапеза; ἵсаотеттрафон; америмпеia	16 ρатеимτλн
18 αиωп; ρатеπпроφасис	19 мпгеттрафон; памеримпеia	20 ρиѳе; нролокоттинос;
мппростимон	21 ерепенеттрафон; етерепенеттрафон	25 мфтпоτтрафетс
26 ммарттрос	27 ппресбттерос	28 κалаписιот; cпнотѳиос; елаχισтос; пресбттерос;
∫=και; θεοωρος	30 Verso; петтрафон; ρатмτλн	31 ικλнτιονос
мпмакариос; ммарттрос		32 2nd hand; ἱсаан;

#### 4. RELEASE

factory. Your fatherhood is now the owner of the mill. You set it up in the bakery of your noble monastery for the bread of the brethren and as gift for the charity of the poor.

Since you asked me for a document of release, I covenant thus: neither I nor my children nor heir of mine nor any man (15) of my kin, whether near relative or distant relative, no person at all shall be able to dispute with your monastery regarding this millstone in any way, whether with you or those succeeding you, ever, at any time, for you satisfied me as to its price, received by me. If it should happen at any season or time, within eternity ever, that such a one should dare to dispute with your monastery on this pretext, wishing to invalidate this document of release which I have executed, first he shall not be benefited (20) in any way, as regards any position or power, but he shall pay six *holokottinos* as penalty,<sup>1</sup> and after the penalty this document shall remain forever valid.

I swear to every officer and every power that when this document shall be brought before him, by God Almighty and the sovereignty of the lords who rule over us, it shall never be violated. For the security of your fatherhood I have above set forth for you and those succeeding you that it shall exist and be valid and binding in every place in which it shall be shown by reason of the subscription (25) of the scribe<sup>2</sup> who wrote it and the trustworthy witnesses. I covenant in this fashion.

I, Philotheos,<sup>3</sup> the son of Pesynthios, I am witness. +

I, Thōmas, the son of Suai, in the Epoike, I am witness. +

I, Samuēl, the priest, I am witness. +

+ By me, Kalapēsios,<sup>3</sup> the son of Shenute, the humble priest of Ama Kosma and Apa Theodorōs, written. +

(30) + The document of agreement of Merkurios, the son of Zacharias, for the millstone. In the first indiction.

+ I, Isaak, the son of the late Papnuthios, I am witness. +

<sup>1</sup> The stipulated penalty is nine times as large as the payment price.

<sup>2</sup> Note that Merkurios does not sign. The deed, nevertheless, is valid; e.g., *KRU* 5 (sale), 47 (settlement), 52 (discharge receipt), 70 (will), 89 (gift of child) are without mention of signatures (*stoichei*); see Steinwenter, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Neither the scribe nor the witnesses, with the exception of Isaak, see *supra*, p. 39 n. 3, are found elsewhere.

## 5. DISCHARGE AFTER ADJUDICATION

British Museum, Oriental Manuscript number 9525 (1)<sup>A-E</sup>.

Size: 33 × 256 cm. 5 sheets. Fibers: vertical.

Recto: 4 (frag.) + 171 lines. Verso: blank.

Script: same scribe as 1, see plates I and II.

### INTRODUCTION

DUE to the fragmentary nature of the first part of 5 the actual occurrences preceding the execution of this document are somewhat confused. In my opinion the facts of the case are as follows. Some unknown personages<sup>1</sup> in the past declared that a certain Shenute claimed that he had handed over a sum of money<sup>2</sup> to the monastery of Apa Paulos,<sup>3</sup> which really belonged to the monastery of Apa Phoibammōn. A document was drawn up to this effect, and, though the officials of Jēme<sup>4</sup> at that time entered into it, they and the elders of the town<sup>5</sup> then, or shortly after, knew that the document was spurious. After the death of Shenute, Apa Biktōr<sup>6</sup> claimed to have a portion of that document which he alleged the superiors of the monastery of Paulos had destroyed. Accordingly, he sued for that sum. Apa Petronios, the superior of the monastery of Paulos, defended the suit, and, when Biktōr and the officials of Jēme were assembled at Paulos' monastery, it was decided that the monastery of Paulos owed nothing. The present document, accompanied by the oath of Apa Biktōr,<sup>7</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps monks of the monastery of Phoibammōn, dissatisfied with their community and envious of the more peaceful life at the monastery of Paulos, lines 39 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Fifty . . . sent out in a clay pot," lines 44, 45; cf. lines 148, 149.

<sup>3</sup> Said to have been received by Apa Iakōb, line 45. For him see 1, introduction, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Zacharias Samuēl, Abraham Theodōros, and Sevēros Mōsēs, lines 48 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The *nog nrōme*, "great men," were probably the large property owners, corresponding to the Byzantine *protocōmetai*, and acted as a council in disputes, see Steinwenter, pp. 21 ff., 42 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The then superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammōn, lines 80 ff., especially 88.

<sup>7</sup> Lines 145—152.

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### TEXT

мнѡмес пλ[

пнастроѣ ꙗ[жнме

менп[

ммин ммоу п[

---

ετποτρ[αφε

εττρεγενμнтре па[ζιοπιστος

ραπειετтрафѡ ꙗ[

εтснρ патпар[αβα

## 5. DISCHARGE

therefore addressed to the superiors of Apa Paulos by the officials of Jēme,<sup>1</sup> wholly discharging the monastery of Paulos from any liability. The officials of Jēme were concerned, since that town and the monastery of Phoibammōn were closely connected in administrative affairs.<sup>2</sup>

The principal document is technically termed *apallagē*,<sup>3</sup> "discharge," and elsewhere occurs in Coptic only in *dialysis* documents.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, it signifies release or discharge after the adjudication of a controversy,<sup>5</sup> in contradistinction to *amerimneia*, release or discharge of a contractual obligation.<sup>6</sup> Two other technical terms are used. One, *logos mpnoue*,<sup>7</sup> "Word of God," is a promise by the officials that the monastery of Paulos shall not be further troubled, and the other, *orkos*,<sup>8</sup> "oath," only a copy of which is here included, sworn to by Apa Biktōr, declares that there shall be no further dispute whether the money was that of the monastery of Paulos or that of the monastery of Phoibammōn in the past. The spurious deed is called *chartēs*, "document," and the portion that Apa Biktōr held is termed "corner (or fragment) of the document."<sup>9</sup> Our document is signed by Thōmas Iōhannēs and Komes Samuēl, *lashane* of Jēme, attested by twelve witnesses, and written by the scribe Psate Pisraēl.

<sup>1</sup> Thōmas and Athanasios are mentioned in line 52, and Komes in frag. line 1, but only Komes and Thōmas sign the deed.

<sup>2</sup> See Steinwenter, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The term *atapallagē*, "non-discharge," 5, 99, 170, is confusing but here seems to correspond to simple *apallagē*.

<sup>4</sup> *KRU* 35, 56; 37, 83; 44, 96, all *dialyseis* concerning partitions of inheritances.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, p. 5, and Steinwenter, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Introductions to 1 and 4.

<sup>7</sup> "Word-of-God," 5, 121, documents are either promises by officials of no further disturbance or authorizations to perform specified work, see *Epi.* 96 n. 1; *CO* 107 n. 1; *Ryl.* 154 n. 6; *CMBM* 1024; *ST* 98 ff.; and further references in these places. Our *logos mpnoue* is strange in that it is one part of another document; in all other cases it is a separate deed.

<sup>8</sup> 5, 145—152. In a *dialysis* settlement of an inheritance, *KRU* 44, 139—153, we find a "copy of oath" dealing with the subject matter of the principal document as here, but following the signatures and attestations instead of preceding them. Cf. *KRU* 44, 36, 42; also *KRU* 23, 67; 36, 33, 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Chartēs* is a common term; see *KRU*, index ii, p. 425. *Chartion* is less so and appears in *KRU* in deeds of gift only; see index ii, p. 425. Cf. Crum, *Epiphanius*, pp. 186 f.

## TRANSLATION<sup>1</sup>

(Frag.) and Komes, the . . . . . Kastron [Jēme] . . . . .

[who shall] subscribe [for us] . . . [trustworthy] witnesses . . . . . for this document

<sup>1</sup> A missing word or short phrase is represented by three dots; a passage of greater length, by five dots.



5 αὐτὼ παύσονται εἰς εὐχολ  
 πύσσωπε εἴσο [   
 ἄμοσϣ ριτнρ [   
 тиризе· ероу [   
 мптипроѳтма + [   
 10 ἡμαῖ περὶ καὶ ἐтносмей ρ[н  
 ἀπα Ἰσαακ мпала  
 ἥττωс π[   
 етшооп ἡμα [   
 мпнетинт' [   
 15 мппетсѳотъ εἰс ἑρоти тиρ [ϣ  
 ката πнотте мпале [   
 εὐολ ἐтрнпетотааб [   
 ἀπα πατлос παпахωритнс [   
 кωρ епѳиос етотааб [   
 20 ἡσотма наριзе ἄмоот παῖ н [   
 натнм ἥпапостол ? [   
 потωт ? [   
 ромпе пемптнс· птаспарате απαι [αβολос  
 παὶ етмосте ἥφринн мптаиналостн [н  
 25 ἡμ ποτ̄х̄е епρнт ἥренкот[ῖ  
 паῖ етемпенанлот ἄмоот ρп [   
 ете мпотωш : емоош [е] н [ата  
 соотъ εἰс ἑроти етсмамаат· αὐω [ [пеп-]  
 толн етотааб паῖ ἥтапа [ ] ѳе папа петропiос  
 30 етрнпетотааб каат ерраῖ [ ] тп [ е ] тсмамаат  
 ἥѳе ἥпепеиоте етотааб [ мпнс ] атрецафоризе  
 паῖ ἥтапѳеофорос ἀпа ια [κωб  
 паῖ птаскаѳиста мпнс [п] епейω [т  
 афоризе ἄмоот ρп [   
 35 паῖ птаτшωπε мпрото [   
 ἄмоот отн атетнмнтм [   
 епзасне ἄмоот ἥсеи епс[от]н нт [

## 5. DISCHARGE

of . . . . . written to be inviolable . . . . . (5) and unimpeachable . . . . . it shall happen that it be . . . . . through . . . . . and our will.

. . . . . (10) Christ, those who govern in . . . . . Apa Isaak and Apa<sup>1</sup> . . . . . in form (?) . . . . . being with . . . . . and succeeding them . . . . . (15) and all their community . . . . . by God . . . . . who is among the saints . . . . . Apa Paulos, the anchorite . . . . . entered the holy life . . . . . (20) without blessing them, this . . . . . undisturbed apostolic (?) . . . . . fifth year in which it was lost. The [devil (?)] . . . who hates peace and justice . . . . . (25) put into the mind of little ones . . . . . those whom we have not designated . . . . . not wishing to proceed according . . . . . wonderful community and . . . . . holy orders, those which Apa<sup>2</sup> . . . to Apa Petronios . . . (30) who is among the saints decreed . . . wonderful . . . in the manner of our holy fathers.

[After] he had done those things which the theophorous Apa Iakōb<sup>3</sup> . . . and he arranged according as our father<sup>4</sup> . . . had done them through . . . . . (35) these and they were . . . . . them. Your [monkhood (?)] . . . . . to inform them and they came

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Apa Isaak and Apa Papas, the lines following describing their succession to Apa Paulos; see introduction to 1.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Apa Athanasios (Athanasie); see introduction to 1, p. 16 n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A superior of the monastery of Paulos; see introduction to 1.

<sup>4</sup> Apa Paulos (?).

- ἡψῆνρε ететῆοἰνοпомеἰ ἄмос тен[от] ἡеε мпетн-  
 еѡт етотааѡ ἀλλὰ атпотже мпна е[ѡ]λ ριѡот  
 40 атр петотѡψ ἡрнт ἄмин мм[оот] атфѡнете  
 епетῆсѡѡт. еротн етраеоѡт ат[см]н отеттрафон  
 мпѡеосеѡ, апа ѡнтѡр[ . . . . . ]е  
 ρиѡсѣ жептаотнотῖ ψн[ре . . . ]е же шепотте  
 жоос наἡ же аἶρε ешптаἶот н[ . . . . . ]е ннж еѡλ  
 45 ρῆпотнотῖхот ἡβλже аἶтаат мпѡеофорос апа ἱакѡѡ  
 панаѡр, паἶ птапономазе. мпесраἡ птпе  
 етѡ ἄмос же житот епекмонастнр, . мпῆса-  
 третсмῆтѣ де алмакар, заѡарἱас пшнре ἄ-  
 пмакар, самотнλ мпѡбрагам пшнре мпмакар<sup>о</sup> ѡеѡѡрос  
 50 мпсетнрос пшнре мпм[акар,] мѡт[сн]с плаш, ш  
 ἡтепромпе етῆмаат [ . . . . . ] нммаἰ ρѡ апон  
 ѡмас мпѡѡпасἱос нте[ . . . . . ] мпнос ἡрѡме  
 тнрот мпнастрон паἰ етмин еѡλ тенот ρатст-  
 парсἱс ἡнетῆшλнλ етотааѡ мпнетῆеἱоте етотааѡ  
 55 наἶ етнн еротн епнотте атеме тнрот ἡтоот  
 55а мпросѡпῖ ἡтаἶпономазе мпетран тенѡт  
 жептасΰмῆтѣ ρпoteѡῖа ρѡс антпаѡἱа  
 еѡλ же птоѡт етῆмоос мпепѡѡт птапетρῆнте  
 ммἱἡ ἄмоот наѡот еѡλ ρнтмнте ἡтнопѡпа  
 ἡшнре атѡ етраеоѡт мппнос пафорἱсмос  
 60 ἡапа ἱакѡѡ апа петрѡнеἱос ἡѡре атѡ ἡнос  
 прѡме тнрот соотἡ мпаἶ жептасΰмῆтѣ еѡῖа  
 атѡ ρѡс антпаѡἱа атѡ ρѡс ѡаѡλἱноἱ. птерот-  
 емфанѣ де мпехартнс птаἡшрῖшаже ρароѣ  
 мпотре елаат пстстасἱс ρἱѡс отѡе мпотешсΰсѡм  
 65 ἡѡкнете ἡлаат ἡρѡѡ ρиѡсѣ еѡλ ἡтаѡ-  
 смῆтѣ антпаѡἱа атѡ ρѡс еѡῖа атнатасῖпѡскеἱ  
 ἡпептатнаасѣ езраἱ мпептатсΰмῆтѣ мпῡмарттрос  
 ἡтатмарттрἱзе ероѣ ρѡс же мпотешсΰсѡм н† стстасἱс  
 ρиѡсѣ отѡе лаат ἡѡрѡ еѡλ жептатсΰмῆтѣ

42 мпѡеосеѡстатос  
49 мпмакарἱос

46 панаѡрἱтнс  
50 page B; ἡлашапe

47 епекмонастнрон  
51 етῆмаат

58 панѡт

48 алмакарἱос  
60 петропἱос

## 5. DISCHARGE

to the community . . . wonderful. You now administer it in the manner of your holy father but they cast mercy forth from them. (40) They acted according to [their] inclinations, they envied your peaceful community, they [drew up] a document for the pious Apa Biktōr . . . himself, so that a little child . . . that Shenute said to us: I found fifty . . . sent out (45) in a clay pot. I gave them to the theophorous Apa Iakōb, the anchorite, he whose name we have mentioned above, saying: Take them to your monastery. After the late Zacharias,<sup>1</sup> the son of the late Samuēl, and Abraham,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late Theodōros, (50) and Sevēros,<sup>3</sup> the son of the [late] Mōsēs, the *lashane* of that year,<sup>4</sup> caused it to be drawn up . . . with me, I, Thōmas and Athanasios . . . and all the elders of the kastron, those waiting now for the completion of your holy prayers and those of your holy fathers (55) who have departed unto God,<sup>5</sup> they all, the persons whose names we have mentioned, knew it was drawn up in hostility as dislike, because they lived at that time with their own deeds casting them forth from the midst of the wonderful and peaceful community with the great limitation (60) of Apa Iakōb. The new Apa Petronios and all the elders knew that it had been drawn up hostilely and in dislike and as diabolical.

When the deed which we have mentioned above is shown, let no substance be found in it, nor let it be of (65) any validity since it was drawn up in dislike and as hostile. It was decided that they did not execute it nor draw it up with witnesses to attest it so that no substance is given to it nor any security because it was drawn up

<sup>1</sup> Zacharias Samuēl of 5, 48, 71, 78, recurs in CO 131, 7, where he appears as *prōtocōmētēs*, the Greek equivalent of *lashane*; see Steinwenter, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham Theodōros reappears in KRU 44, 127 and CO 167, 13, as witness.

<sup>3</sup> Sevēros Mōsēs was a witness to 1, 115.

<sup>4</sup> This is the first direct proof that a *lashane* held office for one year only, with possibility of reëlection.

<sup>5</sup> See Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 169.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

- 70 <sup>+</sup>απτιπαθια ατω ρως εχ<sup>+</sup>θρος · εβολ <sup>+</sup>χειταπαδιαβολος  
<sup>+</sup>π<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>τ<sup>+</sup>χε επετρ<sup>+</sup>ητ· πτειρε· алмак, захаріас тпкоот п<sup>+</sup>апа  
<sup>+</sup>βικτωρ ет<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>маат ρως еμμεμφει ероу <sup>+</sup>хе асπ<sup>+</sup>//// ката т<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>х<sup>+</sup>и  
<sup>+</sup>εχιπ<sup>+</sup>ш<sup>+</sup>о<sup>+</sup>ж<sup>+</sup>не п<sup>+</sup>ρε<sup>+</sup>ν<sup>+</sup>κο<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>і ш<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ре εβολ <sup>+</sup>хе еп<sup>+</sup>со<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>и т<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>р<sup>+</sup>и  
<sup>+</sup>омо<sup>+</sup>өн<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>атон <sup>+</sup>χει<sup>+</sup>та<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у απτιπαθια ατω ρως
- 75 <sup>+</sup>εχ<sup>+</sup>θρος <sup>+</sup>хе <sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>λ<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>от <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>х<sup>+</sup>арт<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>с <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>тет<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ма<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>те  
<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>с <sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>ι<sup>+</sup>арт<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>п <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup> <sup>+</sup>β<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>к<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>р <sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>ма<sup>+</sup>ат <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>ко<sup>+</sup>ор <sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>х<sup>+</sup>арт<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>  
<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ж<sup>+</sup>ω <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>мо<sup>+</sup>с <sup>+</sup>хе <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>с <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ко<sup>+</sup>ор <sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>х<sup>+</sup>арт<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>н <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>ма<sup>+</sup>ат <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>тет<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ма<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>  
<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>те <sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>ор<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у· <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ат<sup>+</sup>ре<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>ма<sup>+</sup>н, <sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>з<sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>х<sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>ри<sup>+</sup>ас <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ω <sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>ма  
<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>ρα<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>σ<sup>+</sup>ω <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>τω <sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>те<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ρο<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>е
- 80 <sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ш<sup>+</sup>о<sup>+</sup>о<sup>+</sup>п <sup>+</sup>те<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>от <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>θ<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>φ<sup>+</sup>ι<sup>+</sup>λ<sup>+</sup>ο <sup>+</sup>β<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>к<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>р <sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>μ<sup>+</sup>  
<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>г<sup>+</sup>е <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ж<sup>+</sup>ω <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>мо<sup>+</sup>с· <sup>+</sup>хе <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>ш<sup>+</sup>: <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>те<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>  
<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>тет<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ма<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>те <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>т <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>та<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>β <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>те<sup>+</sup>ρε<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у<sup>+</sup>та<sup>+</sup>мон <sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>ε  
<sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>σ<sup>+</sup>ω <sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>п <sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>φ<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>ро<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у <sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>ως <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>со<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>хе <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ж<sup>+</sup>о<sup>+</sup>о<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у  
<sup>+</sup>хе<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>ρ <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ко<sup>+</sup>ор <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>х<sup>+</sup>арт<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>ма<sup>+</sup>ат <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>л<sup>+</sup>ла <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>и
- 85 <sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>β<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у<sup>+</sup>мо<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>ст<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>р, <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>φ<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ζε <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ко<sup>+</sup>ор <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>-  
<sup>+</sup>х<sup>+</sup>арт<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>н <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>ма<sup>+</sup>ат <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>ш<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ко<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup> <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>τε<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>-  
<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>ι<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>χο<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>с <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>т <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>та<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>β <sup>+</sup>та<sup>+</sup>ρε<sup>+</sup>τε<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>ш<sup>+</sup>и  
<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>те<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>с <sup>+</sup>φ<sup>+</sup>ο<sup>+</sup>ι<sup>+</sup>β<sup>+</sup>α<sup>+</sup>μ<sup>+</sup>μ<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>τε<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>ш<sup>+</sup>и  
<sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>р <sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>л<sup>+</sup>ла <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>та<sup>+</sup>ло <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>па<sup>+</sup>а <sup>+</sup>β<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>к<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>р <sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>р<sup>+</sup>с<sup>+</sup>у <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>τω
- 90 <sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>с, <sup>+</sup>а<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>ε<sup>+</sup>ρ<sup>+</sup>от<sup>+</sup>и <sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>те<sup>+</sup>т<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>κο<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>ω<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>α <sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ш<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>и<sup>+</sup>ре <sup>+</sup>м<sup>+</sup>п<sup>+</sup>е<sup>+</sup>х<sup>+</sup>ар<sup>+</sup>

71 ἀπμακαρίος	72 εἰμματ	76 εἰμματ	78 μπισατρεπмакаρίος	80 ἀποεο-
φίλεστατος; ἀπα	81 page C	84 εἰμματ	86 εἰμματ; πсатетіпросіотатос	
87 тарететіпотωщ	88 мпететіпотωщ	89 πεpresχτтерос	90 периготменос; мпexартис	
93 πεταγγελιον	94 εϋππεтіпотерите	96 εἰππасафиниζε	97 ацапазыот	98 εἰμματ

## 5. DISCHARGE

(70) in dislike and as hostile,<sup>1</sup> for the devil swayed their hearts in this way. The late Zacharias sent for that Apa Biktōr that he might rebuke him for he . . . by chance for taking the advice of little children, for we all unanimously knew that it was drawn up in dislike and as (75) hostile, saying, Produce the deed for your God-lovingnesses. Behold the injustice of that Apa Biktōr who held a corner (fragment) of the document, for he says: Look at the corner of that document; your God-lovingnesses tore it up. Then after the late Zacharias died we remained, administering after him, and in this present (80) tenth year the God-loving Biktōr again sues, saying: I wanted you to hear my affair with your God-loving holy father. When he spoke to us, we still remained reproaching him for we knew that he said: I did not tear the corner of that document. Then we rose (85) and went to his monastery; he showed the corner of that document. We read it; we sent unto your pious lord,<sup>2</sup> the holy father, whether you wished to come to the Holy Phoibammōn. You did not wish to do this so we set forth with Apa Biktōr, the priest and (90) superior. We came to your wonderful community with the document, without any validity as to its content because it was drawn up in dislike and as hostile to your holy fatherhood; by the four holy Gospels (?). Your fatherhood then laid it on your holy knees; (95) we all sat down. You judged<sup>3</sup> upon it as regards the validity of the oath which we shall declare below for this document. He presented to your lordship, the holy father, the corner of that document because without the security of it no discharge could exist. He agreed with your (100) God-lovingness, lo, that it was a wholly complete discharge. After he had

<sup>1</sup> According to these words the deed was neither executed nor attested; cf. line 147. Perhaps "in dislike and as hostile" may mean "in bad faith."

<sup>2</sup> The superior of the monastery of Paulos.

<sup>3</sup> I should think the judgment was rendered after all the parties and witnesses had been heard.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

[illegible]

102	ἀτετῆροεφίλεστατος;	ἥτενῆπτελαχιστος	
	εποταῶν;	ἐνπειοε	112 ῆπεχριστος
124	ερῶαποτα	125 τεποτ	114 οτῆωωπε κε
132	επαρχων		

103 πτεμπτελαχιστος

107 omit

εποτασ; εππειρε 112 μηχριστος 114 page D 118 ηπειραζε

## 119 πτείλεια

124 ерщанота      125 тепот      126 οτῶωπε κεφαλαιον; жеппепет̄м̄мат

## 130 йлпростімоп

## 5. DISCHARGE

agreed as to the validity of the oath in the whole matter, your God-lovingnesses requested our humbleness to draw up the force of the discharge as it seemed to our humbleness, in written deed for the security of your holy community (105) and those succeeding you at any time and those of your brethren who remain and are praised.

We came to it then, and we wish (we wish) and we request without any deceit or fear or duress or fraud or any artifice and ruse, without any restraint brought to bear upon us, (110) but rather we swear by God Almighty and the health of our lords and the health of our expectations and the fearful tribunal of Christ which shall encompass all to judge each one as to what he has done, whether good or evil, and the great (115) decree which God, the Word, prescribed to the father of us all, Adam: From earth, you shall return to earth, that this is the force of the discharge which exists through us and we are prepared that these words and the validity of this completed discharge be agreed to before every magistrate or power (120) in city or kastron or any place, that this is the force of the discharge as it has been determined. And again for this reason, we give a Word-of-God (document), the Divinity of all on this account, the One who shall judge justly without prejudice as regards the soul of everyone He holds in His holy hand. If anyone (125) should dare either now, or at any time, to destroy the words, he shall act against these principles; primarily he shall not benefit in any way thereby, but in the first place it shall happen that he will be estranged from the holy oath which serves him, the Trinity, to the end that he shall have no security from it, which is the whole of our life. (130) Then he shall pay the fixed penalty of a pound of gold<sup>1</sup> and it shall be taken from his property by the revered

<sup>1</sup> This penalty, equal to six *holokottinos*, recurs in *KRU* 55, 23, a commercial agreement; and *KRU* 106, 202, 203, an extensive gift *causa mortis*; in *Epi.* 88, 9, a settlement after adjudication.



# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

Πεπαρὰς κητὰ ζε ἰμμοϋ πῆρωϊ ἐτὼμ μπεετταφον προ-  
λογιματοῖ παλ πτανσμπυ ἐτῶρ πτετπῶεοφιλ, λ,

- 135 ԿՐԻՍ ԿՐՈՅԵԻ ՋՄԱ ՆԻՄ ԵՒՆԱԵՄՓԱՆԴԵ ՄՈՍ  
 ՆՐԻՏԻ ՍԵՅՆՈՒՆ ԻՒՌՈՄՈԼՈՇԵԻ + ԱՆԼՈՆ ՁԵ ՕՒՒ ԴՈՒՄՈՐ ՁԵ  
 ԵԾՈԼ ՄՔԵՆԵՓԱԼՈՆ ԴԻՏԱՐՈ ՁԵ ՆԱՐԽՈ ՆԻՄ ՋԵՍԻՍԿՈՍ ԵԿՈՒԱԲ  
 ՋԻԱԿԱՏԻՏԻ ՍԵՕԵՓՈՒՍ. ՋԻԼԱՄԱՆԵ. ԵԿՆԱՋՈՒԿ ԵՒՅՈՄ ՔԵԵԿԿՐԱՓՈՒ  
 ՔԵԿՈՄ ՍՆԵՏԻՐ ԵՐՈԿ ԻՒԵՏՐԻԱՏ ԵՒՅՈՒԱԲ ՆՐՈՄՈՒՏԻՍ ՄՔՈՒՅԻ  
 140 ՍՆԵՆՋԻՍՈՒՏԵ ՄՔՍԻՆՄԱ ԵՒՅՈՒ ՍՐՈՒԵ ՄՔԵՒՏ ՔԱԻ ԵՒՅ-  
 ՆԱՏԱՐԵ ՔՏՈՒՒ ԴԻՐԿ ԵՐԱԿԵ ԵՐՈԿ. ՔԱԻ ԵՒՆԱՆՐԻՆԵ. ՄՔՈՒԱ ՔՈՒԱ  
 ՔՐՈՍ ՆԵՒԱԿՒԱԲ ԵԻՏԵ ԱԿԱՅՈՆ ԵԻՏԵ ՆԵՅՈՒՏ. ՄՒՒՆՈՒ ՆԱՔՈ-  
 ՓԱՏԻՍ ԵՒՄՈՒ ԵԾՈԼ ԴԱԻ ԵՒՆԱՄՈՒԵ ԱՋՆՋԻՐՈ ԵՒՐԵՒ-  
 ՋԱՐԵՐ ԵՄԵՐՈՍ ՆԻՄ ՋԵՆԵՓԱԼՈՆ ՋԻՆՈ ԵՐԱԻ ԵԿՐԵԻՏՐԱԻ  
 145 ՍԱՒԱՆՈԿ + ԻՏՈՆ ՕՐՈՒՏ ՄՔԵԿՒՅՈՒՏ ՍԵՒԱԿԵԼԻՈՆ ԵՒՅՈՒԱԲ  
 ՄԵԵԿՒՅՈՒՏ ԴՐՍԻՆԱՆԱՄ ԴՐՍԿՆ ԴՐԻՒԿ ՋԱՐՈՒԲ ՄՔՄԱՋԵ ՆԱՄՆՈՒՏԵ  
 ԴԱՒԱԿ ՄՔՈՒՏՄԻ ՆԵԿՐՈՒԵ ՄՔՆԱՒ ՍԿԱԿԵԻ ՋԵ ԵԿՆԱԿԱ ՏՈՒԱ  
 ԵՐԱԻ ԵԱԿՐՈՄՈԼՈՇԵԻ ՋԵ ԱԻՍՆ ՋԵՆՈՒԲ ՋԻՒՅՈՒՏ ՄՔԵՆԱՏՐՈՆ  
 ՍՈՒՄՈՒ ԵԱԿՍՄ ՕՒԵԿԿՐԱՓՈՒ ՍԵՒՆԵՕԵՓԻԼ՝ ՋԱՐՈՒՏ ԴԱՐԵԴՐՋԻՒՅՈՒՏ  
 150 ԴԵՐՈՒՏ ԴՐՈՄՈԼՈՇԵԻ ՋՄԵՆԱՆԱՄ ՍՈՒՄՈՒ ՋԵՄՔԵԼԱԲ ԵԻ ԵՒՅՈՒՒՒ ԵՆԵՐ  
 ԵՆԱՔԵՄՈՆԱՏԻՐ՝ ՆԵ ՕՒԱ ԵՆԵԻՅԵ ՄՄԱՆԱՐ, ՍԿԱՒՄՈՒԵ ՋԱԴՐՈՆ  
 ՄՒՆԻ ԱՅՐ ՆՅ ՍԿԱ, ՋԵԿԱԴԻ + ՋԻՆԿՐ ՔՏՈՒԽ,  
 Գ ԱՐՈՆ ՓՈՄԱՏ ՔՄԻՐԵ ՄՔՄԱՆԱՐԻՍ ԻՅՐԱՆՆԻՏ ՔՏՈՒԽԵԻ ԵՆԵԿԿՐԱՓՈՒ  
 ՍՐՈՄՈԼՈՇԻԱ ՄՔ-  
 ՔԱՆԱՄ ՄՔՐՈՍԿԻՄՈՆ ՈՏ ՔՐՈՆ,, ԳԳԳ + ԱՐՈՆ ՈՄԵՏ ՔՄԻՐԵ ՄՔՄԱՆ,  
 ՏԱՄՈՒՆԼ ՔԼԱՄ,  
 155 ՔԵՒԱԿՐՍՐՔՐԱԻ ՔՏՈՒԽ, ԵՆԵԿԿՐԱՓՈՒ ՍՐՈՄՈԼՈՇԻԱ ՄՔՔԱՆԱՄ ՄՔՔՐՈՍ-  
 ԿԻՄՈՒ  
 ՈՏ ՔՐՈՆ, + ԱՐՈՆ ՓԿԱԵ ՔՄԻՐԵ ՄՔՄԱՆԱՐ, ՍԿՐԱՆԼ ԱՏԱԿԵԻ ՄՄՈԻ ԱՏՐԱԻ  
 ՋԱՐՈԿ ՋԵԿՍՈՒՒ ԱՆ  
 ՍՐԱԻ + ՄՒՏԵՆԻՒՏ ՔՈ ՄՒՐԵ + ԱՐՈՆ ՈՄԵՏ ՔՄԻՐԵ ՍՐԱԿՐԵ ՔՈ ՄՒՐԿԵ  
 + ԱՐՈՆ ՋԵՐԵՄԻԱՏ ՔՄԻՐԵ ՄՔՄԱՆԱՐԻՍ ՋԵԼԻՏՈՍ ՔՈ ՄՒՐԵ ԱՐՈՆ ՈՄԵՏ ԱՏԵԿԵԻ  
 ՍՄՈՒ ԱՏՐԱԻ ՋԱՐՈՒՏ ՋԵՄԱԿՔՈ ՍՐԱԻ

134 πτεπ̄εοφίλεστατος	137 παρχων	138 ριζικαστις; επεπετραφον	140 επεχριστος
142 πεπατταατ	145 Ἰσον	148 επεμοναстириον	149 πτεπ̄εοφίλεστατος
151 επαπεκμοναстиριον; μαμακαριος	152 ινακτιον; †στοιχει	153 page E; 2nd hand; επεπετραφον	154 εππпростимон; прокейται; 1st hand (Psate); επμακαριος; πλασσανε
155 †στοιχει	156 прокейται; επμακαριος	157 3rd hand; μαπ̄τρε; 4th hand (Komes)	158 μαπ̄τρε; αχαγαι; αμοι; γαρου

## 5. DISCHARGE

magistrates. Then he shall appear and acknowledge the validity of the document of agreement, this which we have drawn up for the security of your God-lovingnesses (135) to be binding and ruling in every place in which it shall be shown. They questioned us and we agreed.

We now clearly present this declaration. We swear to every magistrate or holy bishop or God-fearing court or *lashane* who shall examine into the validity of this document and read what is written herein, by the holy consubstantial Trinity and the health (140) of our lords and the fearful tribunal of Christ which shall encompass the whole world to judge each one regarding what he has done, whether good or evil, and the great harsh decree which shall be without prejudice, that they enforce every portion or statement or settled point of this unchangeable writing.

(145) Copy of the oath by the four holy Gospels, for its validity in both its oath and its spirit regarding the matter of the speech which Shenute made that his men (witnesses) did not establish it at that time, and when he happened to die, having agreed that I had some money on the mount of this same kastron, he drew up a document for your God-lovingness concerning them (monies) so that you should take them. (150) Now we agree by this same oath that no one of us will ever dispute what was your monastery's and what was our late fathers' in those times. Month of Athyr, the twenty-ninth, indiction the tenth. + Biktōr, I sign.

+ I, Thōmas,<sup>1</sup> the son of the late Iōhannēs, I sign this document of agreement and the oath and penalty as it stands. + + +

+ I, Komes, the son of the late Samuēl, the *lashane*, (155) who has been mentioned above, I sign this document of agreement and the oath and the penalty as it stands.

+ I, Psate,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late Pisraēl, he requested me, I wrote for him since he did not know how to write.

+ Shmetsnēv, I am witness.

+ I, Komes,<sup>3</sup> the son of Hatre, I am witness.

+ I, Ieremias, the son of the late Elisaioi, I am witness. I, Komes, he asked me, I wrote for him since he did not know how to write.

<sup>1</sup> Neither Thōmas nor the unnoted personages appear elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known scribe, see Chronology and 1, translation, p. 29 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Komes Hatre reappears as witness in *KRU* 9, 101; 35, 108 (protocol dated 685—705); 68, 98.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

+ ἰακωβ̃ τ̃ιος ἰσακ̃ πρ̃αγματε̃της ἀπο̃ της ἰου̃στινιαν̃ης πο̃λεως της κα̃το  
χωρας μαρτιρω̃ +

160 етіәнс пара топ өеменон

+ ἀποκ κτρίλλος ἡρελίας †ω μητρε + ἀποκ αθανασίος ἡτεωρτίος  
μηχαχάριος

пшнре ппаа вктуа тпото ммпре + цуатн псранлі аталте ммої асраа  
 гароот жейсе-

соотн ап ꙗсꙗ + ꙗ апон абраꙗм пшнре ꙗꙗманꙗрос ѿсѡзѡрос ꙗꙗ  
мѡртерос

+ анон аарωн̄ пшнрē мпмак, кѣриакос ѱω ммкѣре +

165 ꙗноу пагам нѣвстатїнос теу мнѣре +

† θεοωρος ἡσολομω †ο μηπρε +

+ анок пхнр пшнре млманар, нтрианос то ммнтре

† αλον ψατε πσινρε μπμαναρ, πισρανλ αισμπ πελεπτραφον προμολογια  
πτασιx

ατω †μοος εγραϊ μπῆθατμασι<sup>ττ</sup>ω<sup>ττ</sup> θωμας μπνομес ἡλαϋ,ϋ,

170 мпнат ѡтатапаλλагч шωπε ρѣтмнте ѡнеснѡ ммалнѡте мн-

ἀπα νικτωρ πεπρ<sup>ς</sup> αὐτῷ ἀσκελετε καὶ ἀισμητῶς πρὸς τεσκελετς +

159 5th hand; **κατα χώρα ; μαρτυρω**  
162 **πισρανλιот** 163 7th hand; **μ**

161 6th hand; ρηλιας; μμπτρε; 1st hand (Psate)

162 писранлиот 163 7th hand; ἡπμακαριος; θεοωρος; ἡμαρτηρος

164 8th hand;

ἡπμακαριος 165 9th hand; †ω; ἡμπτρε 166 10th hand; ἡσολομωπ

166 10th hand; πκολομωπ

**167 1st hand (Psate):**

168  $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{k}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{s}}$  169  $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{s}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{l}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{e}}$

171 **непресАттерос**

## 5. DISCHARGE

+ Iakōb, son of Isaak, *pragmateutēs*<sup>1</sup> of Justinianopolis of the Lower Country, witness + (160) having done so in my own hand.

+ I, Kyrillos, (the son) of Hēlias, I am witness.

+ I, Athanasios,<sup>2</sup> (the son) of Geōrgios, and Zacharias, the son of Apa Biktōr, we are witnesses. + Psate, (the son) of Pisraēl, they asked me, I wrote for them since they did not know how to write. +

+ I, Abraham,<sup>3</sup> the son of the late Theodōros, I am witness.

+ I, Aaron,<sup>4</sup> the son of the late Kyriakos, I am witness. +

(165) + I, Paham, (the son) of Kōstantinos, I am witness.

+ Theodōros, (the son) of Solomōn, I am witness.

+ I, Phēr, the son of the late Kyriakos, I am witness.

+ I, Psate, the son of the late Pisraēl, I drew up this document of agreement in my own hand and I was present with the esteemed Thōmas and Komes, the *lashane*, (170) at the time of the discharge occurring between the God-loving brethren and Apa Biktōr, the priest, and when they ordered me, I drew it up according to their command. +

<sup>1</sup> In Coptic this generally means "trader"; see *Epi.* 92, 6; *Ryl.* 357 verso; *CO Ad.* 37 verso. For the Greek see Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, *πραγματευτής*.

<sup>2</sup> Athanasios Geōrgios reappears as witness in *KRU* 4, 93 (dated 749); 14, 96 (dated 756); 15, 105 (dated 757); 36, 78; and as *lashane* in *KRU* 36, 16; 68, 105.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. 47 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Aaron Kyriakos is witness in *KRU* 23, 69.

## 6. COMMUNAL AGREEMENT

Leipzig University, Coptic Papyrus number I.

Size: 19 × 132 cm. 2 sheets. Fibers: vertical.

Recto: 66 lines. Verso: 21 lines.

Script: even, ligatured hand.

### INTRODUCTION

6 is a communal agreement, not particularly common among Coptic texts,<sup>1</sup> and seems to be the only document of its kind in content. The duties exacted by the Arab authorities weighed heavily upon the native Egyptians<sup>2</sup> and so the inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> Our document is termed "communal agreement" (line 19), "communal contract" (line 43), "common agreement" (line 45), etc. Generally *koinētēs*, "common agreement," is the term used in other texts, e.g., *KRU* 108, concerning land granted by the community, and *CO* 284, the import of which is obscure. Documents such as *Lond.* 1542 and *CMBM* 1014 (cf. *infra*, p. 59 n. 1), in which a whole community acts as a legal person, are to be distinguished. Perhaps *Lond.* 1620 is the closing portion of a communal agreement.

<sup>2</sup> See generally the introduction to *P. Lond.* IV, by H. I. Bell.

### TEXT

+ εν ονοματι του πατροс και του τιου και του α[τιου

α ι χ α  
ετρ μ μ ιε ι ζ

+ ριτοοτη ανον петпаρзпографе мпеснт нт[ноі-]

[н]η ρομολογια петсоотї мен нсгаі етрзпографе ρ[н-]

5 петсїх мμн μμοот петс[оотн] ан нсгаі етаітеі потр[тпо-]

графетс етречзпографе ρароот аτω енρομολογ[ει н-]

петпнатасе μμοот нсаөн енсгаї нпепернт [ . . . ]

отромонοια ен κοινηс τνωμнс мкотстнапес[ис]

мпотстгнатаөөсис χαιρεи же епейан ρμпоот нроот

10 ансωотρ еротї мпепернт омоотμααон ансμн от-

етнапесис мпепернт еμн пω ара нсенеж ткотрс[он]

εμππнастроп н лаат наллагн ρολωс нтеотпос нта-

раχн тарон ота ота аτω анμωτηн он нтеіре жеμн-

сом нρωме потωт етωотн ραпбарос нотпоөөсис

15 етμματ алла анжоос же отетλοτон пе таренθο ен-

стпелөө мпепернт елаат наллагн етпнт ежωн ρωсте

тарентωотї ραпбарос етμματ мпепернт тарпшн өе

пазератн ρμпеннастроп атараχос етλοτωс απει етеіρομο-

## 6. COMMUNAL AGREEMENT

Jēme agreed among themselves about the regulation of the taxes. In the first place, a list of all available men for naval<sup>1</sup> and other duties<sup>2</sup> is to be made. Though somewhat obscure, the regulations in the latter part of the document seem to be intended to prevent harm's being done by one member to the community. Thus, if one of the inhabitants called for duty does not wish to serve, he must pay a sum of money that will satisfy the Arab authorities to prevent someone else's being taken in his place or a fine's being levied upon the whole community. In the document as many formulae as could be adapted are found,<sup>3</sup> and seventeen members of the community are parties<sup>4</sup> to the agreement.

<sup>1</sup> The *cursus*, "naval duty," is concerned in a number of Aphrodito papyri of the early years of the eighth century. Cf. especially *Lond.* 1494—1504, guaranty declarations and agreements as to the sailors for the *cursus*.

<sup>2</sup> The *allagē*, here, seems to mean "general duties." In Aphrodito it had the meaning of "postal station," *P. Lond.* IV 1414, 80, or "shift" as "shift of the ironworkers," *P. Lond.* IV 1421, 9, both Greek texts. Cf. *Epi.* 96 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Notably the "absence of duress," penal and executory formulae; see Introduction, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> That is, "they sign" (*stoichet*). Lala Mathaios of line 79 should "sign" instead of "witness."

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### TRANSLATION

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy [Ghost]. Written, month of Mechir, the fifteenth, indiction the seventh.

Through us, we who shall subscribe below this [communal] agreement, those knowing how to write subscribing in (5) their own hands, those not [knowing how] to write requesting a scribe who will subscribe for them. For we covenant that we shall not act upon these matters contrary to the manner we write between ourselves. . . . a concord resulting from communal resolution and an understanding and common agreement, greetings:

Since on this day (10) we all gathered together, we drew up an understanding among ourselves as to whether the naval detachment from the kastrons or other duty could not be settled so that a difficult question might be decided for each one of us. We deliberated in this fashion for no man of us is able to bear the (whole) duty for that event; (15) accordingly we said that a list is to be made, that we declare we made among ourselves, for all duties placed upon us so that we may bear that burden among ourselves in order to find the manner to take care of ourselves in our kastron unabashed.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

20 логіа ѿноиѡніаѿ аѡнлаат ѿроу риготе ригино-  
 не риапатн ристнарпатн рипериграфн еѡнлаат ѿ-  
 апатн шооп нан алла рѡтенпрограресіс ѡмин ѡмон  
 риготте тѡромологеі епѡрн ѡпнотте ппантокра-  
 тѡр ѡпнотѡи ппенѡсоотте рѡсте ерон апон  
 нетнарѡтпографе мпнетотнарѡтпографе рароот  
 25 тарѡшоупе ено ѿноиѡніос ѡпненернѡ рѡ-  
 рѡѡ нм еѡѡи еротн етаѡѡаріа ѡпанмосіос логос  
 ете нотрсон ете лаат ѡаллаѡн рѡлѡс ѡтншоупе  
 епѡпнеісѡи рмпенѡтнѡтнос ѡмин ѡмон ѡен-  
 пенѡтѡѡреі ѡтеѡта ѡрнтн знміа плаат пара  
 30 ѡта ете рѡшоупс ѡнеесѡ ете рѡселаат асѡнеі ѡе он  
 ѡтеіре ѡе есѡаншоупе ѡтепенлнрос ѡѡта ѡрнтн  
 еі ерѡи рѡртнпенѡсоотте таресѡтало етнотрсон  
 ете лаат ѡаллаѡн рѡлѡс епн тѡ ерон тарнмооше  
 еротн ѡтѡтн ѡпненернѡ ѡантнелетѡерѡт  
 35 ѡмоу ѡѡѡе ѡепенѡтѡѡреі пѡтн лаат рѡлѡс пара  
 пнесеепе ѡрнтн нѡѡ ѡіон ѡнпѡте трѡпѡн ете ерѡан-  
 пенлнрос тарѡ ѡта ѡрнтн н снѡт н ѡѡѡт ѡтеѡта  
 ріѡѡтн ѡѡѡѡ етстерей ѡмоѡт ѡпетешѡѡтарѡу  
 ѡѡт ѡнѡіѡт пѡѡтнѡмоней еѡ антїлогіѡс  
 40 прѡѡтѡ мен ерѡпетнарїѡѡтѡу ерѡѡ птеімне  
 пѡшоупе рѡпсарѡт пнетрафн аѡѡ пѡшоупе еѡѡ  
 ѡшммо епейѡт мпшнре мпепѡѡ еѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ѡе аѡѡѡлма епараѡѡ ѡлаат пѡтмѡѡнѡн пѡі-  
 ѡніѡнѡн еѡѡѡ нан ѡпненернѡ антѡп  
 45 теіѡіѡн рѡмологіа петѡѡтн пѡѡи аѡѡтпогра-  
 фе еѡс петѡѡтн ан ѡсѡи аѡѡтеі пѡѡтпографетс  
 аѡѡтпографе еѡс рѡроу анѡѡс еѡѡл +  
 + апѡн фѡіѡѡѡн пшнре мпманѡ псѡс  
 †ѡѡѡѡ† етеіѡмолѡгеіа прѡс ѡе етеснѡ  
 50 мѡс ѡѡѡѡ пшнре мпманѡ сѡтнрос аѡѡі-  
 теі мѡі асѡи рѡроу + + апѡн сѡѡтнл

26 εταγταρεia 28 ενεργητικοςαι 30 2nd sheet; ρακελαατ 34 ψαπτηκελετοερος  
 .37 ψομπτ 38 ριωπ 42 μππεππετμα 47 ραροοτ 48 2nd hand (Daveid); μπμακαριος  
 49 ιστοιχει; ετερομολογια 50 μπμακαριος

## 6. COMMUNAL AGREEMENT

So justly, we came to this communal agreement without any deceit or fear or duress (20) or fraud or artifice or ruse or any restraint placed upon us, but of our own resolution. Through this we covenant, swearing by God Almighty and the health of our lords, that for those of us who shall subscribe and those who shall be subscribed for, (25) we shall be communal among ourselves in every matter which is concerned with the duty of the state treasury,<sup>1</sup> whether naval detachment or other duty generally, and that we shall be responsible, at our own risks, that we will not allow any one of us to be mulcted beyond another (30) whether selected as sailor or for any other things. It was decided in this fashion: that if it should be the lot of any one of us to appear before our lords in order to be taken for the naval detachment or other duty generally due by us, we should consider and we should decide among ourselves whether we were free (35) for it or whether we should not allow one to give anything at all beyond the rest of us.

Accordingly, if the lot should fall on one or two or three of us and one of us should wish to stay behind, he shall not do this of right and act inconsiderately upon the question, (40) but in the first place it shall happen on this account that he shall be under the curse of the Scriptures and it shall be that he is estranged from the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, for he dared to violate some part of this communal contract. For our security, among ourselves, we drew up (45) this communal agreement, those knowing how to write signing it and those not knowing how to write asking a scribe and he signed it for them. We executed it. +

+ I, Phoibammōn,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late Pisēs, I sign this agreement in the way it is written. (50) Daveid,<sup>3</sup> the son of the late Sevēros, he asked me and I wrote for him. +

<sup>1</sup> *Dēmosios logos*, "state treasury"; cf. *Ryl.* II 6; *Lond.* I 542.

<sup>2</sup> Phoibammōn Pisēs reappears in *CO* 413, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Daveid Sevēros wrote for a witness in *L.* 116, 131.



# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

пшнре мѣілоѹеос ѳстоіхъ - ааѳеа пшнре  
 ѿпмаи/ сѣтнрос аісгаі ҃ароу жемаіноі +  
 + апон аѡпаісіос пшнре псапхнм стоі

## 55 ετερομολοτία +

+ апок аристофали пшнре пшраппнс  
прпнастрон пшнме апепросωпон атѣи  
ммоі аісраі ґароч жепесуноі ап +  
+ апок прише пшнре млман, іереміас †стехе

60 ετερομολογεία προς τεσσομ +

+ анов захаріас пшнре мпман, наланωлсѣ ѳстех-  
е епейхартис прос . . . т . . . п . . . ім . . . анов прн-  
ше аісгаі ггаросѣ ет . . . . . анов абраг҃ам пш[н-]  
ре пман, ѱнс ѳстехе е[пей]хартис анов [м]-

**65** ґараѣ пшнре мпера ... стехе епеіхар,  
апок прнше асраи ґаро<sup>от</sup> [же]метнои +

+ **αποη** **θεοφιλος** **πυνηρε** ? ?  
**σoм** **θωμας** **πυνηρε** **μπμaη**, [**hηη**<sup>T</sup>] **αλсгaη** ?  
+ **αποη** **πετρος** **πυνηρε** **ι[сa]****aη**, **τιςτοιχη** **ετ[ι]****ρομολογεηa** **πρoс** **тeσσoм**

70 Өмәс пшнре мпмак Һи<sup>Т</sup> асраг Һароу прос тесытесис +

+ анон зегенѧ пшнре мпмакарї  
 маѳїас ѱтехе прос тес-  
 мотѧїѧ  
 етерот ѿом +

**+ апок заминл пшуре нфівамон**

75 ꙗ҃стѣхѣ е҃теромѣлїкѣа про҃с тесѣом  
а҃нон ꙗ҃хариас пшн нпмакаріос петрос

†στοιχει ετερομολγια προς τесσom +

**+ απον λαλα πιγρε μπμαν, μαθαιος τιο μπντρε**

ятрианос пшнре йлман, петрос айсраг зароч же[меч-]

52 †στοιχει	53 ἡπμακαριος	54 3rd hand; †στοιχει	59 4th hand (Préshe);
ἡπμακαριος; †στοιχει	60 ετερομολογια	61 ζαχαριος (?); ἡπμακαριος; †στοιχει	
64 ἡπμακαριος; †στοιχει	65 †στοιχει; επειχαρτις	67 Verso; 5th hand (Thómas)	
68 ἡπμακαριος; ἡικτωρ	69 ετερομολογια	70 ἡπμακαριος; ἡικτωρ; τεραστις	
71 6th hand; ιερηνικη; ἡπμακαριος	72 †στοιχει	73 ετερομολογια	75 †στοιχει;
ετερομολογια	76 πηρε	77 ετερομολογια	78 7th hand (Kyriakos); ἡπμακαριος
79 ἡπμακαριος			

## 6. COMMUNAL AGREEMENT

+ I, Samuēl,<sup>1</sup> the son of Philotheos, I sign. Daveid, the son of the late Sevēros, I wrote for him since he did not know how. +

+ I, Athanasios,<sup>2</sup> the son of Sanchēm, I sign this (55) agreement. ++ I, Aristophanē,<sup>3</sup> the son of Iōhannēs, man of Kastron Jēme, the person asked me and I wrote for him since he did not know how. +

+ I, Prēshe,<sup>4</sup> the son of the late Ieremias, I sign (60) this agreement for its validity. +

+ I, Zacharias, the son of the late Kalakōlef, I sign this document for . . . . . Prēshe, I wrote for him . . .

I, Abraham,<sup>5</sup> the son of the late Psēs, I sign [this] document.

I, (65) Nicharav, the son of Peha . . . , [I] sign this document. I, Prēshe, I wrote for them [since] they did not know how. +

+ I, Theophilos, the son . . . . . validity. Thōmas,<sup>6</sup> the son of the late [Biktōr], I wrote . . . . .

+ I, Petros,<sup>7</sup> the son of Isaak (?), I sign this agreement for its validity. + (70) Thōmas, the son of the late Biktōr, I wrote for him at his request. +

+ I, Iezekiēl,<sup>8</sup> the son of the late Mathias, I sign this agreement for its validity. +

+ I, Daniēl, the son of Phoibammōn, (75) I sign this agreement for its validity.

I, Zacharias, the son of the late Petros, I sign this agreement for its validity.

+ I, Lala, the son of the late Mathaios, I am witness. Kyriakos,<sup>9</sup> the son of the late Petros, I wrote for him since [he did not] know (80) how to write.

<sup>1</sup> Neither Samuēl Philotheos nor any other of the following personages unnoted appears elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Athanasios Sanchēm is found in *ST* 144, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Aristophanē Iōhannēs is the well-known scribe, see *supra*, p. 10 n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Prēshe Ieremias reappears in 9, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Abraham Psēs is *lashane* in *KRU* 42, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Thōmas Biktōr is found in *KRU* 42, 12; 45, 69; 46, 47; 95, 40.

<sup>7</sup> If Petros Isaak, then in *KRU* 58, 36.

<sup>8</sup> Iezekiēl Mathias appears in *KRU* 45, 67; 46, 46; 50, 73; 71, 4; in the latter as *dioikētēs*. Perhaps also the Iezekiēl of 9, 26.

<sup>9</sup> Kyriakos Petros reappears in 8, 21; *KRU* 28, 57; 50, 79.

## TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

- 80  $\pi\omicron\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$  +  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa$   $\kappa\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\pi\mu\alpha\eta$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\sigma\tau$ <sup>х</sup>  
 +  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa$   $\varrho\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$   $\eta\zeta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\iota\sigma\tau$ <sup>х</sup>  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\tau\iota\alpha$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu$   
 $\kappa\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$   $\mu\mu\omicron\iota$   $\alpha\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\iota$   $\varrho\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\pi\omicron\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$  +  
 +  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa$   $\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\tau\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\dagger\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$ <sup>х</sup>  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu$  +  
 $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa$   $\iota\varsigma\alpha\kappa$   $\pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\pi\mu\alpha\eta$ ,  $\zeta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho$   $\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$   $\mu\mu\omicron\iota$   $\alpha\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\iota$   
 85  $\varrho\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\pi\omicron\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$  +  
 +  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa$   $\alpha\tau\eta\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\pi\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\dagger\sigma\tau\eta\chi\eta$   $\alpha\tau\iota\text{-}$   
 $\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\tau\iota\alpha$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu$  +

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80 $\bar{\mu}\pi\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ; $\dagger\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$	81 $\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$	83 8th hand (Isaak); $\dagger\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$ ; $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\tau\iota\alpha$
84 $\iota\varsigma\alpha\alpha\kappa$ ; $\bar{\mu}\pi\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ; $\zeta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$	86 9th hand; $\iota\kappa\eta\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ; $\dagger\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$ ; $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\tau\iota\alpha$	

## 6. COMMUNAL AGREEMENT

+ I, Kyriakos, the son of the late Petros, sign.

+ I, Hēlias,<sup>1</sup> the son of Zacharias, I sign this agreement for its validity. Kyriakos, the son of Petros, he asked me, I wrote for him since he did not know how to write. +

+ I, Kōstantinos, the son of Philotheos, I sign this agreement for its validity.

+ I, Isaak,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late Zacharias, he asked me, I wrote (85) for him since he did not know how to write. +

I, Ignatios, the son of the late Mathias, I sign this agreement for its validity.

<sup>1</sup> Hēlias Zacharias is witness in *KRU* 37, 115; 49, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Isaak Zacharias is scribe of *KRU* 70, 67 (dated 749); 106, 235 (dated 732—735); and witness of *KRU* 115, 19.

## 7. DEED OF SALE

Leipzig University, Coptic Papyrus number II.

**Size:** 16.5 x 129 cm. **2 sheets.** **Fibers:** horizontal and vertical.

**Recto:** frag. of protocol + 84 lines. **Verso:** blank.

Script: same scribe as 3, see plate V.

## INTRODUCTION

**7** is the best example of a typical legal document with the usual formulae<sup>1</sup> among the *CLT*. It is a deed of sale addressed to Sevēros Samuēl and Daniēl Shenute by Mēna Athanasios acknowledging in behalf of himself, and as agent<sup>2</sup> for his brothers, the receipt of two and two-thirds *holokottinos* as the price of a room inherited by him and sold to them. The sale of a room<sup>3</sup> inherited from a parent—in this case the mother—

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, pp. 6 f.

<sup>2</sup> See San Nicolò, *Byz. Zeit.*, vol. xxiv (1924), pp. 336 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Boulard, pp. 37 f.

**TEXT**

[illegible]

+ еп опомати ? ? [   
 [патро]с нај тој тјо[т] ? етр ? [   
 [ан]он мна п[шнре] мпман, аѡанасјос м[   
 ] ејере мппрос[ωпок] снхт пр[ ] ис <sup>еѡ епѡ</sup>

5 ппомос птпо ермонт еіті [мнпсѡс] потрѣпотраф[етс етреч-]  
[рѣпот]рафе рарої ралееттрафон нпрасіс пѡтѡш п[рѣнт]  
натпарава ммоч аѡв натпарасалете ммоч еѡ[ол]  
еіѣрѣото ѡе таѣро ммоч рѣтнрелмнѣтре наѣіопістос наеі ет[на-]  
мартѣріѣ ероѣ рарої прос тааітнсіс тѡеі ммн ммѡі мнпа-  
10 ѡтѡш пѣнт + еісѣаї псѣтнрос пѣнре мпман, самотнл мп-  
ѡаннл пѣнре мпман, шепѡтте прмпеінастроп пѡтѡ[т]  
ппомос птеіполіс пѡтѡт ѡаіреѣе + тіѣомѡлогѣі нат[а теіпра-]

3 Ἰππάρχος  
11 Ἰππάρχος

## 5 ΠΤΠΟΛΙΣ

**8 паї**

9 τωϊ; ἄνθρωπων

10 Ἰὼ ἄπμακαρίος

## 7. DEED OF SALE

and situated in the house of another<sup>1</sup> is fairly common in the Jēme texts.<sup>2</sup> Keeping in mind the low (one or two stories), somewhat spread-out dwellings of the modern *fellāḥīn*, we can understand that in the course of a generation or two, even without sale, the various rooms of a dwelling would pass into different and strange hands.

In place of the two deeds necessary for the sale of property in Ptolemaic and Roman times in Egypt,<sup>3</sup> only one was necessary in the Arab epoch, the *prasis*, which combines the earlier two, passing title upon acknowledgment of the receipt of the purchase price.<sup>4</sup> After an expression of the intention to sell and a description of the property, the vendor designates the rights conveyed. Then he sets forth the price received and closes with the usual penal and executory formulae.<sup>5</sup> Though the subscription of the scribe is here absent, the deed is certainly by the hand of Aristophanē Iōhannēs.

<sup>1</sup> In this case in the house of Paham Sōch (?), with no further identification.

<sup>2</sup> Though the common term is "portion" of a house, *KRU* 12, 13, 18, 20, 23, 25, in *KRU* 26 a particular room is sold. Similarly *KRU* 35, 27 and 39, 27, are settlement documents concerning the inheritance of a room and *KRU* 70, 31, 35, is a will bequeathing a room.

<sup>3</sup> See generally Mitteis, *Grds.*, pp. 167 ff.; and P. M. Meyer, *P. Jur.*, pp. 114 ff., and references there.

<sup>4</sup> See Boulard, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, pp. 7 ff.

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### TRANSLATION

+ In the name . . . . . [Father] and of the Son . . . . . written . . . . .

I, Mēna,<sup>1</sup> the [son] of the late Athanasios, . . . . . acting as the agent . . . brothers . . . (5) the district of the city of Hermonthis, I designate [below] a scribe [who shall] subscribe this document of sale, inviolable and unimpeachable, for me at [my own] wish. I augment its validity by trustworthy witnesses who [shall] attest it for me at my own request and my (10) wish. I write to Sevēros,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late Samuēl, and Daniēl,<sup>3</sup> the son of the late Shenute, men of this same kastron, the district of this same city, greetings:

<sup>1</sup> Mēna Athanasios occurs only here, 7, 3, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Sevēros Samuēl reappears as witness in *KRU* 64, 19, and as scribe of *KRU* 69, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Daniēl Shenute reappears in two tax receipts, *ST* 67, 1, and 77, 1, the latter written by Psate Pisraēl.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

εἰς τὰς ἐπτάχρητ' ἐτενὴ ρηοτρῶν ποτὼτ εἰοτῶσθ' αὐτῷ εἰ[πιθε]  
 ἐμπλαατ' ἡμεροῦ ριροτε ριχικσοντ' ριαπατη ριστ[ῆ-]

[illegible]

21 πταμακαριος 22 απεκελαατ 23 εακελαατ 25 απμακαριος 26 πεптаг-  
 шрсгаисот 36 шомпт; прологоттиπος; оттримнсион 37 тпнесоаг; хртсос; помисма; 28  
 40 етагафересоаг

## 7. DEED OF SALE

I covenant regarding [this sale] and I enter with fixed writing into this matter; I wish and I [request] without any deceit or fear or duress or fraud or (15) artifice or ruse or any restraint placed upon me, but of my own resolution, I sell to you from today on, which I have named above, all legal ownership, having been satisfied according to the laws of sale.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, I write that from now on unto all time forever after, therefore, the whole room which is (20) below<sup>2</sup> the staircase, which is ours (?), in the house of Paham Sōch (?), shall be (yours), that which came to us as the inheritance of my late mother Elisabet, which had been declared as her portion. No other legal rights are left to me in the whole of that room by any other inheritance or by written or unwritten intention.

So now to you, you, Sevēros, (25) the son of the late Samuēl, and Daniēl, the son of the late Shenute, those whom I have named above, you shall enter and you shall take possession of and you shall be owners and you shall be the masters of the whole of that room which is south of the staircase, which is ours (?), in that house, and you shall acquire it for yourselves and you shall administer it and you shall manage it and you shall (30) keep it and it shall be considered as surrendered (so that you may) make a gift of it, surrender it, leave it to your children and those succeeding you. In the same fashion they shall take possession and they shall own and they shall be masters and they shall possess all ownership and all title and possession forever, validly and faultlessly. (35) The price which was agreeable to me and agreed upon between us was three *holokottinos* of pure gold, of good weight, less a *trimēision*, and paid in full, i.e., gold *nomismata* 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ , so that from now on, at once (you have) the administration of all that room for yourselves and those succeeding you.

(40) No man acting for me, whether I or brother of mine or near relative or distant relative, shall be able to dispute with you in any fashion about any matter

<sup>1</sup> In *KRU* 29, 21, "the old law of sale." Steinwenter, pp. 63 f., believes the Justinian compilation is referred to by *nomos*, "laws"; Koschaker, in his review of Steinwenter, *SZ*, vol. XLI (1920), p. 332, thinks no specific codification is meant, rather "legal rules." I believe our passage indicates the latter.

<sup>2</sup> In lines 27—28 "south of the staircase."



- сѣтирос мпѣанил отѣ петншнре отѣ пшнре  
 45 нпетншнре отѣ петнхωρ отѣ петнхωρїхωρ  
 отѣ шммо отѣ рмїни отѣ неота ϩарωтї ката лаат  
 нсмот н профасіс отѣ нпеіешѣмѣом еенаге нити  
 ϩнаѣнастнріон н мпѣол пѣнастнріюї отѣ ϩн-  
 полс н мпѣол птош етѣ же аеїжї аτω аеплнрот  
 50 ϩїтооттнѣтї пттелеїа тїмн еїс плнрес прос ѳе  
 птаїсѣмѣωнеї ерос пмнїтї еїте ершанота толма  
 поте наїрω н хронω нап ϩїтоотн н ϩїтїнеота етеїре  
 мпапросωпон пѣїеї еѣол нѣотн пѣїепаге ϩалаат  
 пѣωн еѣї еротн етрї етммаѣ аτω енаталѣ мпеїеѣтра-  
 55 ѣон ппрасіс н мерос птаѣ епнрѣ прѣтотѣпѣс  
 мен пнепетммаѣ тї ϩнѣ плаат ала еѣнашѣпе  
 еѣо ншммо епанаш етотшмше пас мпнѣсѣс пѣтї  
 еплоѣ мппростїмон псоот пѣолон, ппотѣ поѣрт-  
 зон псеапаїтеї ммоѣ ϩїтеѣѣрѣпостасіс ммін ммоѣ  
 60 ϩїтїтѣїх ппѣрхωн етѣїеїнѣ етпраттесѣаї мпотоеїш  
 етммаѣ еїѣоттѣс мпнѣсатнатаѣолн мппростїмон  
 псепакаснѣтаѣе ммоѣ пѣѣωн аτω пѣѣωмт етѣом  
 нтепрасіс пѣоеїс таї птаїсмптс етѣрѣ нити мп-  
 петннѣт мпнѣсωтн соѣѣ со пѣоеїс ϩмма пїм етѣна-  
 65 емѣпанїѣе ммос пѣнтѣ аѣошс ерої асѣанаї апапаранаїеї  
 нотѣтпѣѣѣѣѣѣс аѣѣѣтпѣѣѣѣѣѣс ерос ϩарої аїаѣїот ѣе  
 пѣеннемнѣтре наѣїопїсѣтос аѣмартѣѣрїѣе ерос ϩарої  
 аїнааас еѣол +

+ алон мнпа

- 70 пет . . сѣаї птпе еїере м-  
 ϩе прѣсѣпон пнасїнѣ  
 ѣѣтѣїхѣї етепрасіс пр ?  
 ? ? аѣапасїос  
 ? сїпотѣїос мнѣо-

## 7. DEED OF SALE

concerning that room, whether against you, you, Sevēros and Daniēl, or your children or your grandchildren (45) or your near relatives or your distant relatives, whether stranger or servant or any one of us on any cause or pretext. Nor shall he be able to sue you in court or out of court, either in city or out of district, because I took and received (50) from you the full price as payment in the manner in which I had agreed with you about it. If one should dare at any time or season, whether through us or through another acting as my agent, to dispute, namely, to sue,<sup>1</sup> about any matter which concerns that room and controverts this deed (55) of sale or any part of it, in the first place he shall not benefit in any way thereby, but he shall be estranged from the holy oath by which he is served. Afterwards he shall pay the fixed penalty of six *holokottinos* of pure gold and it shall be taken from his own property (60) by the hand of the esteemed magistrate<sup>2</sup> who is acting at that future date. After the payment of the penalty he shall be produced and he shall acknowledge and declare the validity of this binding sale, this which I drew up.

For your security and those succeeding you, it is ruling and binding in every place in which it shall (65) be shown. It was read to me, it was agreeable, I requested a scribe to subscribe it for me. I sought some trustworthy witnesses to attest it for me. I executed it.

I, Mēna, (70) who have been mentioned above, acting as agent for my brothers,

<sup>1</sup> This conclusively shows that "dispute" in these texts means "to dispute legally," i.e., "to sue."

<sup>2</sup> On *archōn* generally, see Steinwenter, p. 35.

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

75 ω πετρος[ο]ς τητοιχ,  
 + αβρααμ πυνρε μπμ-  
 ακαρ 222 ατητε μμοι  
 αισραλ ραροοτ προσ тет-  
 αιτεςις +

80 απον ψαп τΙος ιω̅ ϣω  
 ? ? ?  
 ? ιω̅ ?  
 ? + ? αβραам ?  
 ? ρα ?

75 петросінос; тпτοιχєі  
 80 3rd hand ; іωαппис

76 μπμακαριος

77 2ατε12; ατα1τε1

78 τετα1тисις

## 7. DEED OF SALE

I sign this sale . . . . . Athanasios . . . . . Shenute and (75) also Petrosinos,<sup>1</sup> we sign.

+ Abraham,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late Daveid, they asked me, I wrote for them at their request.

I, Psan,<sup>3</sup> the son of Iōhannēs, I am [witness] . . . . . Iōhannēs . . . . . Abraham . . . for . . .

<sup>1</sup> Athanasios (?), Shenute, and Petrosinos, certainly the last two, are the brothers of Mēna.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham Daveid signs for parties in *KRU* 36, 69 ; 37, 121, is scribe of *KRU* 68, 109, and perhaps appears in *CO* 218, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Psan Iōhannēs is not found elsewhere.

## 8. DEED OF SALE

John Rylands Library, Coptic Manuscript, Supplement number 23.

Size: 36 × 21 cm. Fibers: horizontal.

Recto: 24 lines. Verso: 1 line.

Not collated.

### INTRODUCTION

8 is the concluding portion of a deed of sale of a portion of a house<sup>1</sup> by Tsone to Phoibammōn and two children of Paulos, her deceased brother. The document opens

<sup>1</sup> See introduction to 7.

### TEXT

ετο ηχοειс[  
мпеснω нсон пр[  
нелете ρптеϥτιαϥнин омоτ прнт ннї пта[пама-]  
нариос нсон патлос шопϥ ρаоттимн еа[  
5 пемнт прир ελλε аτω про наρχаion етогнн е-  
ротн ероϥ етβε ттимн де аѣи аτω аимотρ н-  
тооттнѣтн мпеснат нсон жнптепот де ерω-  
тн ететппанелете нпомерос тнрϥ ннї ша-  
енер потоеиш мпотоеи[ш] нм еѣнашωпе ριωωт-  
10 тнѣтн мпнетншнре мпншнре нпнетншнре мп-  
петннѣт тнрϥ мпнсωтн еѣшантолма птаенете  
ннтн шаенер пенер еина шомнт пролон, мпростимон  
еиωрк мпран мпнотте ппантωкратωρ мпнотѣаи  
нн[енѣисооте етархеи] ежωн ебол ρитмннотте  
15 ? ρωб ?  
наї птаѣи ежωї ρапаманариос нѣот по ?  
отѣ соне отѣ шнѣота отѣ шнснω отѣ ρωме ρолос аѣ-  
енете ннтн шаенер потоеиш ннѣн анон тсоне тистої +  
+ анон ιωακνннс нлазарос аисраї ρатсоне +

2 мпеснат  
12 еинаѣ; нролокоттпос; мпростимон  
шпснат; ρолос; атенѣе  
3 ρптеϥτιαϥнин  
18 тистоїхеи

8 мпамерос  
13 ппантократωρ

10 мпнетннѣт  
16 нѣиωт

11 нтаенете  
17 сωпе;

## 8. DEED OF SALE

with a part of the usual means of identifying property by setting forth the neighbors to the south, north, east, and west,<sup>1</sup> and then continues with a declaration of ownership in the vendees and the concluding formulae of a Coptic legal document.

<sup>1</sup> Not always in this order but generally so.

---

### TRANSLATION

..... to be owner ..... the two brothers ..... ordered in his will, bounds: north, the house which [my] late brother Paul bought for a price . . . (5) west, New Street and the old gate leading to it.

As regards the price, I took and received (it) from you, the two brothers. So from now on, to you, you shall own all my portion of the house forever and ever. It shall be (10) yours and that of your children and grandchildren and all succeeding you. If anyone should dare to sue you ever at any time, I<sup>1</sup> shall (pay) three *holokottinos* as penalty. I swear by the name of God Almighty and the health of [our lords who rule] over us by grace of God (15) . . . . these came to me from my late father Po . . . (?) . . . whether sister or first cousin or second cousin or any man at all shall sue you ever at any time.

I, Tsone,<sup>2</sup> I sign. + + I, Iōhannēs,<sup>3</sup> (son) of Lazaros, I wrote for Tsone.

<sup>1</sup> This should be "he."

<sup>2</sup> No known Tsone or Paulos seems to be concerned here.

<sup>3</sup> Iōhannēs Lazaros, the well-known scribe; see *supra*, Chronology, p. 10 n. 2.

## TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

- 20 + ἀποκ κολλοῦ<sup>ϕ</sup> πшире мпмак<sup>7</sup> πατερμοῦτ тιο ммнтре +  
 ιωσηφ πшире мпмак<sup>7</sup> δικ<sup>7</sup> тιο ммнтре + кнριακoс πшире  
 мпмак<sup>7</sup> петрос атагтеі мμοі аісгаї гароот жеметної аτω тιο ммнтре +  
 + ἀποκ ιωαννης πшире мпмакарїос лазарос : аісμηтс +  
 аτω тιο ммнтре ерос +
- 25 τπрасіс йтатсone смнтс пфoιβамων мпшнре мпaтлос +

20 2nd hand (Kyriakos); κολλοῦτος; мпмакарїос		21 мпмакарїос; δικτωρ; кнριακoс	
22 мпмакарїос	23 1st hand (Iōhannēs)	24 ммнтре	25 Verso

## 8. DEED OF SALE

(20) + I, Kolluthios,<sup>1</sup> the son of the late Patermute, I am witness. +

Iōsēph,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late Biktōr, I am witness.

+ Kyriakos,<sup>3</sup> the son of the late Petros, they asked me, I wrote for them since they did not know how, and I am witness. +

+ I, Iōhannēs, the son of the late Lazaros, I drew it up. + And I am witness to it. +

(25) The sale which Tsone executed for Phoibammōn and the children of Paulos. +

<sup>1</sup> He does not appear elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Iōsēph Biktōr of *KRU* 31, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Besides appearing in 6, Kyriakos Petros reappears as scribe in *KRU* 28, 57, and 50, 79.



## 9. DEED OF SALE

John Rylands Library, Coptic Manuscript, Supplement number 36.

Size: 385 × 155 mm. 3 fragments. Fibers: horizontal.

Recto: 2 + 5 + 31 lines. Verso: blank.

Not collated.

### INTRODUCTION

THREE fragments of a deed of sale of watered land<sup>1</sup> make up 9, the long fragment

<sup>1</sup> The expression "watered," i.e., inundated land, is not common in Jēme texts (*KRU* 66, 81) but the phrase "inundated land" is frequently used, *KRU* I, 50 (sale); 7, 21 (sale); 38, 24 (settlement of an inheritance); 68, 49 (bequest in will); 69, 33 (bequest); cf. also, C. Goodwin, *AZ*, vol. VII (1869), p. 131, and is probably a synonym.

### TEXT

нтетнрхоеис нк̅ⲁⲅ̅ ⲁⲑⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲏ[

ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲧⲱⲩⲛ ⲡⲏⲧⲏ ⲡⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲭ [

] . ншнре ⲙⲏⲏшнре ⲡⲡⲉⲛⲩ[нре

] . ⲥ̅ ⲁⲡⲗⲱⲥ ⲉⲗ ? [

5 ] ⲁ̅ ⲡⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲡⲟⲩⲁⲩⲩⲥ̅ . ⲥ̅[

] ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲏ ⲣⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲧⲏⲧⲏ ? [

] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲓⲡⲧⲉⲡⲟⲩ [

] ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲁⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲏ ⲣⲁ[

] ⲑⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲏⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲏⲓ[ⲡⲉⲁ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ

10 ] ⲡⲧⲟⲩ̅ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲧⲏⲙⲁⲧ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲱⲣ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲱⲣ[ⲡⲭⲱⲣ

] ⲧ̅ ⲩⲱⲣ̅ⲡ̅ ⲙⲉⲡ ⲭⲉⲡⲡⲉⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲧ ⲧⲓ ⲣⲏⲧ̅[

] ⲓ ⲉⲡⲗⲟⲥⲟⲥ̅ ⲡⲭⲟⲩⲧⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲗⲟⲕ̅, ⲡⲡⲣⲟⲥ[ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲡ

] ⲥ̅ ⲡⲥ̅ⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲟ ⲡⲩⲩⲙⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ̅ ⲙⲡⲩⲩⲏⲣ[ⲉ ⲙⲡⲡ-

ⲡⲏⲁ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ̅ ⲙⲓⲡⲏⲥⲱⲥ ⲡⲥ̅ⲭⲓ ⲧⲙⲉⲣⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲡ[ⲁⲡⲓⲁⲥ ⲙⲡ-

15 ⲥⲁⲡ] ⲡⲓⲣⲁ ⲧⲉⲥ̅ⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲡⲥ̅ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲏ ⲡⲥ̅ⲣⲱ[ⲡ ?

ⲧⲑⲟ] ⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ̅ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲥⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲡⲱⲣ[ⲭ ?

ⲧ̅ⲑⲟ] ⲙ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲉⲑⲉⲑⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲣⲙⲙⲁ ⲡⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲉⲙ[ⲫⲁⲡⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ̅

ⲡⲣ] ⲏⲧⲥ̅ ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ̅ ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲡⲁⲓ̅ ⲁⲡⲥⲟⲧⲙⲉ[ⲥ ⲁⲡⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ

ⲣⲧⲡ] ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲫⲉⲧⲉ ⲣⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲧⲣⲟⲥ̅ ⲁⲡⲏⲁⲁⲥ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ̅ ⲉⲥⲭ[ⲏⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ̅

20 ...] ⲁⲡⲁⲏⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲡ +

9 ⲟⲩⲁⲉ; ⲡⲉⲡⲧⲉⲡⲉⲁ  
ⲡⲏⲧⲏ

10 ⲟⲩⲁⲉ; ⲣⲁⲧ̅ⲡ̅ⲙⲁⲧ

12 ⲡⲣⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲩⲧⲏⲡⲟⲥ; ⲙⲡⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲓⲙⲟⲡ

16 ⲧ̅ⲑⲟⲙ;

## 9. DEED OF SALE

containing the concluding clauses, attestations, and subscription of the scribe. The addressors and addressees are unknown, the amount and price of the property are lost, the document being chiefly valuable as illustrating the formulaic nature of a Coptic legal text. Though unsigned, the attestations of eight witnesses and the subscription of Theodōros whose patronym cannot be read, signify that the sale was consummated.

---

### TRANSLATION

(Frag. 1) you shall be owners of the watered land . . . . . their bounds for you above. . . . .

(Frag. 2) your children and your grandchildren . . . . . (5) any way you shall have use for it . . . . . through you . . . . . [own] it. From now on . . . . .

(Frag. 3) he who shall dare to dispute with you . . . whether I or my children or those of my [kin whether (10) paternal (?)] or maternal, or near relative or distant [relative] . . . first, there shall be no benefit therefrom . . . [pay] the amount of twenty-four *holokottinos* as penalty . . . he shall be estranged from the Father and the Son and the Holy [Ghost]; besides he shall suffer the lot of [Ananias and (15) Sapphira], his wife. And he shall appear and acknowledge and . . . [the validity] of this sale, which we have drawn up for you.

For your security [it is to be valid] and binding in every place in which it shall [be shown]. They read it to us, it was agreeable to us; we heard [it. We requested a] scribe and witnesses. We executed it, completed . . . (20) properly. +

# TEN COPTIC LEGAL TEXTS

- апо]н ісая пшнре магаре носта[птінос  
 ҃о] нмнтре +  
 апо]н прише пшнре мпман, б[  
 ҃ω] ммнтре + апоκ ιωραη[нс пшнре  
 25 мпм]агаріс маѳіас ҃о мнтре  
 апо]н зетенл пшнре пмагаріс [маѳіас  
 аіс]раі ρароу жемечіноі псраі [аτω ҃о  
 ммн]тре +  
 апо]н анмнтриос пшнре мпман, леоп̄ тіо ммнтре прос т[еч ?  
 30 ] сатл . . ? ?  
 ] ҃ω мнтре  
 апо]н пестпѳіос пшнре мпмакаріос паппотт  
 пе]прісѳетерос мѳагіос апа мнна мпапа п[  
 ҃о] ментре҃  
 35 апо]н пакапн пшнре мпмакаріос мнна ҃о [ммнтре  
 ап]ок ρанос пшнре пстефанос аісраі ρаро[от

δι εἰς θεοδωρ υἱ ? ἀπὸ καστρ̄ μεμνοῦ εὐρ,,

---

21 2nd hand; ісаак; мпмакаріос; κωστανтінос	22 ммнтре	23 3rd hand; мпмакаріос;
іериміас	24 4th hand (Iezekiēl)	25 мпмакаріос; ммнтре
29 5th hand; мпмакаріос; леоптіос	30 6th hand	31 ммнтре
33 пересѣттерос	37 εμου; θεοδωρου; υιου; καστρου; μεμνωνω; ευραψα	32 7th hand (Hanos)

## 9. DEED OF SALE

I, Isaak,<sup>1</sup> the son of the late Kōstantinos, [I am] witness. +

I, Prēshe,<sup>2</sup> the son of the late B[ . . . I am] witness. I, Iōhannēs,<sup>3</sup> [the son (25) of the] late Mathias, I am witness.

I, Iezekiēl,<sup>4</sup> the son of the late [Mathias, I] wrote for him since he did not know how to write, [and I am] witness. +

I, Dēmētrios,<sup>5</sup> the son of the late Leontios, I am witness at [his request].

(30) Saul, . . . . . I am witness.

I, Pesynthios,<sup>6</sup> the son of the late Papnuthios, [the] priest of Holy Apa Mēna and Apa P[ . . . I am] witness. +

I, Pagapē,<sup>7</sup> the son of the late Mēna, I am [witness].

I, Hanos,<sup>8</sup> the son of Stephanos, I wrote for [them] . . . . .

By me, Theodōros, son of . . . of Kastron Memnoniōn, written.

<sup>1</sup> Isaak Kōstantinos reappears in a number of Jēme texts, as witness in *KRU* 24, 148 (protocol dated 742); 25, 51; 50, 72; as scribe for witness in *KRU* 14, 91 (dated 756); 54, 20; 87, 51; and as *lashane* in *KRU* 38, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Prēshe Ieremias of 6.

<sup>3</sup> Iōhannēs Mathias reappears as *dioikētēs* in *KRU* 21, 9; 50, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Iezekiēl Mathias of 6.

<sup>5</sup> Dēmētrios Leontios is also witness to *KRU* 12, 58; 21, 91; 52, 31.

<sup>6</sup> Pesynthios Papnuthios does not reappear.

<sup>7</sup> Pagapē Mēna also in *ST* 144, 8.

<sup>8</sup> Hamos (*sic*) Stephanos of *KRU* 20, 137 (dated 759); 90, 42, is undoubtedly the same personage.

## 10. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEBT AND PROMISE TO REPAY

Coptic document in the possession of W. E. Crum.

Size: 12 × 34 cm. Leather roll.

Recto: 32 lines + traces of earlier text.

Not collated.

### INTRODUCTION

PROBABLY the least formulaic of the *CLT* is 10, an acknowledgment of debt and promise to repay by Maria, daughter of Martha, to Sevēros (?). The document is

### TEXT

+ ρμπραν емпеїωт мпшнре мп-  
ппа етотааб ρμποот пροοт  
[.с]отшмотї мпармотте  
[п]теромпе. ωκтонс апон маріе  
5 тшеере. птмак, марѳе ρμпкас-  
трон пїжнме еїсραї псотї-  
[р]отс. пшнре ?  
? пеїнастрон. потωт пѳер-  
[монт аї]паран, . ммон. анѳ паї  
10 шомпт пρολон, мпоттер-  
мнсіон. кпотѳ. же еїпаапо-  
лотїзе. ммоот нан пѳѳтωне  
шаѳатеїт. еїтмаполотїзе  
ммоот нан пѳѳтωне шаѳатт  
15 еїпаѳ отѳроомпе кпотѳ. нан  
епρολон, ната ромпе. атω  
тинωρ атоотя. мпамерос  
ρμпнї етеїотнρ пρнтс. етет-  
пише те пнї етммаѳ есγї-  
20 прїр пѳатεγѳ пρλλο. екпа-  
шωпе. еκω мпжоес еρосγ  
шан-тапληрот ммон м-

1 мпеїωт; мппппетма 4 октояс; маріа  
9 аїпаракалеї 10 пролокоттїнос; мпоттрїмнсіон

5 птмакаріос; марѳа  
16 епρолокоттїнос

6 сетярос

## 10. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEBT

termed *asphaleia* and is analogous to other short texts of the same kind.<sup>1</sup> Upon the request of Maria, Sevēros lent her  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *holokottinos*. The creditor desired repayment at the first of the year but the debtor declares a portion of gold will be repaid each year, mortgaging (?) her house portion for the obligation.

<sup>1</sup> *KRU* 59, 62, 63; *CPR* 6, 7; *Ryl.* 192 ff.; *BKU* 78, 99; *CMBM* 1032 ff.; *ST* 88, 97, 429; *Tor.* 3.

---

### TRANSLATION

+ In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.<sup>1</sup> On this day which is the eighth day of Pharmuthi of the eighth year.

I, Maria,<sup>2</sup> (5) the daughter of the late Martha, in the Kastron of Jēme, I write to Sevēros (?), the son . . . of this same kastron of Hermonthis. [I] requested from you, you gave me (10) three *holokottinos* and a *trimēsiōn* of gold, saying that I should pay them to you as linen (tax) in Thōth. I shall not pay them to you as linen (tax) in Thōth; (15) I shall give a "dove" of gold<sup>3</sup> to you as the *holokottinos* each year, and I shall mortgage<sup>4</sup> to you my portion of the house in which I live, which is the half of that house on (20) the street of Daveid the Old. You shall become master of it until I satisfy you up to the limit of your security.

<sup>1</sup> Crum claims to see traces of the Greek invocation at the beginning of the document, but, since no other case of both Greek and Coptic invocatory formulae is known, this seems unlikely.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Whether this means a weight of gold or a specific coin, paid as interest, I do not know. Cf. *Ryl.* 238, 53; 260; *CMBM* 1202.

<sup>4</sup> Crum reads  $\kappa\omega\zeta \alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\omicron}\kappa$ , literally "prepare the way for you," but  $\kappa\omega \rho\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\omicron}\kappa$ , "undertake for you," may be possible. The sense of mortgage is assumed from lines 21—23.

пжѡя ꙗ̅тенасфаλѡа—  
 аноя маѣа тептасшрпсга  
 25 ꙗ̅тпе ꙗ̅стехеї етеасфаλ[ѡа]  
 мпгѡѡ ꙗ̅м есѣсг ерос  
 + аноя ѡпорѡс пшнре ппман,  
 лаλгнт ꙗ̅ ѡ ммнтре  
 аноя ѡганнес пшл нам ꙗ̅ м-  
 30 ммнтре аноя захарѡас пеласх,  
 пархнпр амарѡа еїте ммѡї аїсгаї  
 теасфаλѡа птасг ꙗ̅ ммнтре +

23 ꙗ̅тенасфаλѡа  
 30 пеласхѡсгс

25 ꙗ̅стоїхеї; етеасфаλѡа  
 31 ꙗ̅рхнпресѡттерос; аїтеї

27 ꙗ̅пманарѡс  
 32 теасфаλѡа

29 пшнре; ппманѡл

## 10. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEBT

I, Maria, she who has been mentioned (25) above, I sign this *asphaleia* and everything written therein.

+ I, Onorios,<sup>1</sup> the son of the late Lalhēv, I am witness.

I, Iōhannēs,<sup>2</sup> the son of Kam(ul), I am (30) witness.

I, Zacharias,<sup>2</sup> the humble archpriest, Maria asked me, I wrote this *asphaleia* in my hand, I am witness. +

<sup>1</sup> Onorios Lalhēv reappears in *ST* 415 (scribe : Aristophanē Iōhannēs).

<sup>2</sup> Unknown elsewhere.





# INDEXES



# INDEX OF PERSONS

## Abbreviations and Transliteration

br=brother of	m =mother of
d =daughter of	s =son of
f =father of	sis=sister of
gf=grandfather of	w =wife of
h =husband of	+ =ecclesiastic

An attempt has been made to transliterate the exact Coptic form of the name rather than to employ Latinized or Anglicized forms. Peculiarities to be noted are:  $\epsilon$ =e and  $\eta$ =ē,  $\omicron$ =o and  $\omega$ =ō,  $\tau$ =y,  $\alpha\tau$ =au except that final  $\alpha\tau$  or  $\alpha\tau$  before a vowel=av,  $\epsilon\tau$ =ev,  $\eta\tau$ =ēv,  $\omicron\tau$ =u,  $\omega\tau$ =ō,  $\Phi$ =ph and  $\Psi$ =f,  $\chi$ =ch and  $\Psi$ =ps,  $\varpi$ =sh,  $\kappa$ =j.

A standard form of the name is indexed and is used in the translations; variant spellings are indicated in the parenthetical references.

### Aarōn

- s Kyriakos 5, 164

### Abraham

- s Daveid 7, 76, 83 (Abraam)
- s Theodōros 5, 49, 163
- s Psēs 6, 63

### Andreas

- s Phēr 1, 121, 123; 2, 24

### Antōnios

- f Athanasios 1, 138

### Apa Athanasios

- + 1, 14; 2, 3, 5 (Athasios); 4, 3

### Apa Biktōr

- f Zacharias 5, 162
- s Papnuthios 1, 122
- + 5, 42, 71, 76, 80 (A Biktōr), 89, 152 (Biktōr), 171

### Apa Daniēl

- + 1, 13; 2, 3; 4, 3

### Apa Eiōt

- 1, 116. Cf. Eiōt

### Apa Iakōb

- + 1, 14 (Iakōbos); 4, 3; 5, 32 (?), 45, 60

### Apa Isaak

- + 1, 21, 31, 40; 5, 11

### Apa Papas

- + 1, 22 (Pas), 31, 40

### Apa Paulos

- + 1, 13, 22; 2, 3; 4, 4; 5, 18

### Apa Petronios

- + 5, 29, 60 (Petrōneios)

### Apa Sevēros

- + 2, 3, 5

### Aristophanē

- s Iōhannēs 6, 56

### Athanasios

- br Mēna (?) 7, 73
- f Mēna, h Elisabet 7, 3
- f Theodōros 3, 13 (Athan)
- s Antōnios 1, 138
- s Daniēl 2, 25
- s Geōrgios 5, 161
- s Papnuthios 1, 129
- s Sanchēm 6, 54
- 5, 52

### Bartholomaios

- s Iōhannēs 1, 118, 120 (both Barthōlōmēos)

### Basileios

- f Ieremias, 1, 115

### Biktōr

- f Iōsēph 3, 21 (Bik)
- f Thōmas 6, 70 (Bikt)
- s Iezekiēl, br Mathias 1, 130

### Chaēl

- 3, 1, 15

### Daniēl

- f Athanasios 2, 25
- s Phoibammōn 6, 74
- s Shenute 7, 11, 25, 44

### Daveid

- f Abraham 7, 77 (Dad)
- f Dioskoros and Iōb 1, 121; 2, 29
- s Sevēros 1, 116, 131; 6, 50, 52

### Dēmētrios

- s Leontios 9, 29

### Dioskoros

- s Daveid, br Iōb 1, 121 (Dikoros); 2, 29

### Eiōt

- +s Shenute 1, 132, 136

### Elisabet

- m Mēna, w Athanasios 7, 21

### Elisaio

- f Ieremias 5, 158 (Heliseos)
- f Kamul 1, 135

### Geōrgios

- f Athanasios 5, 161

### Hanos (?=Stephanos)

- s Stephanos 9, 36

### Hatre

- f Komes 5, 157

### Hēlias

- f Kyrillos 5, 161 (Helias)
- s Zacharias 6, 81

### Iakōb

- f Shenetōm 1, 139 (Iōkōb)
- s Isaak 5, 159

### Ieremias

- f Prēshe 6, 59

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## Ieremias (*cont.*)

- s Basileios 1, 115, 117 (*both* Ierēmias)
- s Elisaaios 5, 158 (Heremias)

## Iezekiēl

- f Biktōr *and* Mathias 1, 130 (Iezēkiēl)
- s Mathias 6, 71; 9, 26 (*both* Zegeēl)

## Ignatios

- s Mathias 6, 86 (Agnatios)

## Iōb

- s Daveid, br Dioskoros 1, 121

## Iōhannēs

- f Aristophanē 6, 56
- f Bartholomaios 1, 118 (Iōhannēs)
- f Psan 7, 80, 82 (*both* Iōa)
- f Thōmas 5, 153
- s Kamul 10, 29 (Iōhannēs)
- s Lazaros 1, 111; 8, 19, 23 (*all* Iōhannēs)
- s Mathias 9, 24
- s Solomōn, br Kōstantinos 1, 126 (Iōhannēs)
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## Iōsēph

- f Kyriakos 1, 129
- s Biktōr 8, 21
- +s Patzuen... 3, 12

## Isaak

- f Iakōb 5, 159 (Isak)
- f Petros 6, 69
- s Kōstantinos 9, 21 (Isak)
- s Papnuthios 4, 8, 32 (Isak)
- s Zacharias 6, 84 (Isak)

## Kalakōlef

- f Zacharias 6, 61

## Kalapēsios

- +s Shenute 4, 28

## Kamul

- f Iōhannēs 10, 29 (Kam)
- s Elisaaios 1, 135 (Gamul)

## Kolluthios

- s Patermute 8, 20 (Kolluth)

## Komes

- f Petros 1, 114 (Komos)
- s Hatre 5, 157, 158
- s Samuēl 5 frag., 1; 5, 154, 169

## Kōstantinos

- f Isaak 9, 21 (Kosta...)
- f Paham 5, 165 (Kōstatinos)
- s Philotheos 6, 83
- s Solomōn, br Iōhannēs 1, 126 (Kōstantinnos)

## Kyriakos

- f Aarōn 5, 164
- f Leontios 1, 119
- f Phēr 5, 167
- s Iōsēph 1, 129
- s Petros 6, 79, 80, 82; 8, 21 (Kēriakos)

## Kyrillos

- s Hēlias 5, 161

## Lala

- s Mathaios 6, 78

## Lalhēv

- f Onorios 10, 28

## Lazaros

- f Iōhannēs 1, 111 (Lazaros); 8, 19, 23

## Leontios

- f Dēmētrios 9, 29 (Leont)
- s Kyriakos 1, 119

## Maria

- d Martha 10, 4 (Marie), 24, 31

## Markos

- +s Taurinos 3, 14

## Martha

- m Maria 10, 5 (Marthe)

## Mathaios

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## Mathias

- f Iezekiēl 6, 72
- f Ignatios 6, 86
- f Iōhannēs 9, 25
- s Iezekiēl, br Biktōr 1, 130

## Mēna

- f Pagapē 9, 35
- s Athanasios *and* Elisabet 7, 3, 69

## Merkurios

- s Zacharias 4, 2, 30

## Mōsēs

- f Theodōros, s Pluj *and* Tasia 1, 4, 55, 108 (Moēsēs), 112 (Moēsēs), 118, 119, 134, 141, 143; 2, 2, 10, 27, 31 (Musēs)
- f Sevēros 1, 116; 5, 50

## Nicharav

- s Peha... 6, 64

## Onorios

- s Lalhēv 10, 27 (Ōnorios)

## Pagapē

- s Mēna 9, 35 (Pakapē)

## Paham

- s Kōstantinos 5, 165
- s (?) Sōch 7, 20

## Papnuthios

- f Apa Biktōr 1, 123 (Papnute)
- f Athanasios 1, 129
- f Isaak 4, 8, 32 (Papnute)
- f Pesynthios 9, 32 (Papnut)

## Patermute

- f Kolluthios 8, 20 (Patērmut)

## Patzuen...

- f Iōsēph 3, 12

## Paulos

- br Tsone 8, 4, 25

## Peha...

- f Nicharav 6, 65

## Pesynthios

- f Philotheos 4, 26
- +s Papnuthios 9, 32

## Petros

- f Kyriakos 6, 79, 80, 82; 8, 22
- f Zacharias 6, 76
- s Isaak 6, 69
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## Philotheos

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f Samuēl 6, 52

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## Phoibammōn

f Daniēl 6, 74 (Phibamōn)

s Pisēs 6, 48 (Phoibamōn)

— 8, 25 (Phoibamōn)

## Pisēs (?= Psēs)

f Phoibammōn 6, 48

## Pisraēl

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## Pluj

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## Po...

f Tsōne 8, 16

## Prēshe

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## Psan

s Iōhannēs 7, 80

## Psate

s Pisraēl 1, 141; 5, 156, 162 (Psatē), 168

## Psēs

f Abraham 6, 64

## Pshēre

+ 1, 113

## Samuēl

f Komes 5, 154

f Sevēros 7, 10, 25

f Zacharias 5, 49

s Philotheos 6, 51

+ 4, 27

## Sanchēm

f Athanasios 6, 54

## Saul

— 9, 30

## Sevēros

f Daveid 1, 131; 6, 50, 53

s Mōsēs 1, 115; 5, 50

s Samuēl 7, 10, 24, 44

s Suai 1, 137

— 10, 6 (Suērus)

## Shenetōm

s Iakōb 1, 139

## Shenute

br Mēna 7, 74 (Sinuthios)

f Daniēl 7, 11, 25

f Eiōt 1, 132

f Kalapēsios 4, 28 (Sinuth)

+ 1, 125, 127 (Senuth)

## Shenute (cont.)

— 5, 43, 146

## Shmetsnēv

— 5, 157

## Sōch (? if personal name)

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## Solomōn

f Kōstantinos and Iōhannēs 1, 126

f Theodōros 5, 166 (Solomō)

## Stephanos

f Hanos 9, 36

## Suai

f Sevēros 1, 137

f Thōmas 4, 26

## Tasia

m Mōsēs, w Pluj 1, 4, 108

## Taurinos

f Markos 3, 14

## Theodōros

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## Tsone

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## Zacharias

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- арсѣноитос номос**: 3, 11. Arsinoite nome (Greek), Ptom (Coptic), Fayyūm (modern).
- εκκλησία ετοτααβ Ѳѳиме**: 1, 113, 125, 127. Holy Church of Jēme, the best known of the Jēme churches, see *KRU*, index vii, p. 470; *P. kl. Form.*, index, p. 304.
- εποικε**: 4, 26. Epoike, a village, which, since the document is executed in Pshensiōn, would seem to be in the district of Koptos. Crum, in his note on Epoikion, *Epiphanius*, pp. 118f., thinks the latter to be a village in the district of Hermonthis.
- ερμονѳ**: 4, 4; 7, 5; 10, 8. Hermonthis (Greek), Ermont (Coptic), Erment (modern), the capital of the district in which Jēme lay, ten miles south of the latter town, and the residence of the civil and military authorities of the Arab government; see Steinwenter, pp. 7, 9ff.; Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 105; Amélineau, pp. 165ff.
- ϊουστινιανος πολις**: 5, 159. Justinianopolis (Greek) is Koptos according to evidence in Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 104 n. 1; it is described as being in the "Lower Country." According to Wilcken, *Chrest.* 32, 8 n. (first century A.D.), the country north of the Thebaid was thus termed.
- κβτ**: 1, 5, 109; 4, 2. Koptos (Greek), Kebet (Coptic), Kūft (modern), the capital of the district to the north of that of Hermonthis. Though the city was on the eastern bank of the Nile, the district undoubtedly also occupied the western bank. Cf. Amélineau, pp. 213ff.
- κτριάκος**: 1, 128. The church of Kyriakos was in Jēme; *KRU* 37, 15; 68, 103; 69, 84; *St. Pes.* 18.
- κοσμα ѱεοδωρος**: 1, 132; 4, 28 (αμμα κοσμα | αααα θεοδωρος). The church of Kosma and Theodōros perhaps in the neighborhood of Koptos; see 1, introduction, p. 17 n. 10. Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 117, understands Kosmas as the brother of Damianus; note, however, the feminine "amma" in 4, 28.
- кастрон**: 5, 53, 120; 6, 12, 18; 7, 11; 10, 8. See also жиме. "Castrum" always indicates Kastron Jēme in our texts. On kastron, see Steinwenter, pp. 7f.; Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 106.
- καπс**: 3, 12, 13, 14. The "Cup," the Greek term for the location of the monastery of Apa Paulos; see H. I. Bell, "Two Official Letters of the Arab Period," *JEA*, vol. XII (1926), pp. 266ff.
- кутала**: 3, 3. The "Cup" in Coptic, the location of the monastery of Apa Paulos; cf. *KRU* 106, 69; see Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 112. In Jēme, Kulōl Street occurs frequently.
- μεμνονιων**: 1, 3; 9, 37. Memnoniōn (Greek), Jēme (Coptic). The Greek term is common in the Coptic texts; cf. *KRU*, index vii, p. 466. It is also known from Byzantine texts, and in the late Roman period was a fort for the protection of Hermonthis; see Steinwenter, pp. 6f.
- мѳпа мѳ п...**: 9, 33. Mēna and P... is an unknown church.
- πακωθεος**: 1, 133. Pakōthis, an *enoria* = *territorium* = district; see Steinwenter, p. 10; Wilcken, *Grds.*, p. 77. Crum's suggestion, *Epiphanius*, p. 117, of connecting Pakōthis with Pakebt, *KRU* 91, 36, is valuable in that our phrase would then be "in the district, that of (the city of) Coptos."
- πειοом**: 3, 4. Arsinoite nome (Greek), Peiom (Coptic), Fayyūm (modern); see Amélineau, pp. 337ff.
- павн**: 1, 139. Pavē, a village in the district of Koptos; see Crum, *Epiphanius*, pp. 119f.
- пѳпсiωн**: 1, 5 (пѳпсiωн), 109 (пхωριον пѳпсiωн), 137, 138 (ψιcиωн); 4, 2. Pshensiōn, a village in the district of Koptos; not found in *KRU*, but see I. Guidi, "Coptica," 1906 *Rend. Lincei*, p. 475, and Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 121. Crum suggests the element cиωн, a rare masculine name at Jēme; perhaps even "Ziōn."
- пѳпргiα**: 1, 135. Pshenhiai, a village in the district of Koptos; see Crum, *Epiphanius*, p. 121.
- φοιβαμμων**: 5, 88. The well-known monastery of Apa Phoibammōn (see *KRU*, index vii, p. 470), the modern Deir el-Baḥri (see Crum, *Epiphanius*, pp. 109ff.; Winlock, *Epiphanius*, pp. 12ff.; Steinwenter, pp. 34ff.).
- жиме**
- кастрон жиме**: 1, 6, 15; 2, 24; 4, 4; 5 frag., 2; 6, 57; 10, 5.
- кастрон жиме**: 1, 109, 112; 2, 25; 3, 1. Kastron Jēme, a town situated on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes (see Crum, *Epiphanius*, pl. 1), was on the site now known as Medīnet Habu and had been the Ptolemaic Memnoniōn. Further see Crum, *Epiphanius*, pp. 107ff.; Steinwenter, pp. 8ff., 19, 34ff.; Amélineau, pp. 112, 152ff.; Schiller, *Tijd.*, vol. VII (1927), p. 434.
- тоот жиме**: 3, 3. Mount of Jēme, the rising ground to the west of the town of Jēme; see Crum, *Epiphanius*, pp. 107f.
- ⲉⲓⲣ**
- ααλε**: 8, 5. New Street recurs in *KRU* I, 62; 6, 18; 7, 25, 26, 72; 8, 8; II, 31; 4I, 49.
- πατεια παλλο**: 10, 20. Old Daveid Street does not recur.

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## PLATE I

Document 1: Release. Recto, lines 1-41.



PLATE II

Document I: Release. Recto, lines 42-107.





PLATE III

Document 1: Release.

- (a) Recto, lines 108–end.
- (b) Verso, docket.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or document. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher. The text is arranged in several lines, with some lines being longer than others. The overall appearance is that of a historical document.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or document. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher. The text is arranged in several lines, with some lines being longer than others. The overall appearance is that of a historical document.

PLATE IV

Document 2: Receipt. Recto, lines 1-26.

*[The page contains dense handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a historical manuscript. The ink is dark, and the handwriting is somewhat slanted and compact. There are approximately 20 lines of text visible across the page.]*





PLATE V

Document 3: Petition for Furlough: Guaranty. Recto, lines 1-14.









PLATE VI

Document 4: Release. Recto, lines 1-29.

ΕΝΔΟΜΑΤΗΤΟΥΡΕ ΣΤΟΥΙΟΝ ΣΤΟΥΑΙΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΕΓΡΑΦ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΔΑΟΥΡ/ΣΒ/ΝΑ/Κ/Σ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ:-  
ΔΝΟΚ ΜΕΡΚΕΥΡΙΟ ΣΠΗΡΕ ΠΙΠΜΕΣ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΣ ΕΦΑΥΝ ΕΙΩΝ ΕΛΙΝΟΜΟΣ ΤΤΑΝ ΤΑΤ ΕΥΕΡΑ ΝΑ  
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## PLATE VII

- (a) Document 2: Verso, lines 27–end and docket.
- (b) Document 3: Verso, docket.
- (c) Document 4: Verso, docket and attestation of additional witness.



Chilodactylus. *Nov. spec. Verm. Austria*

*The Philosophy of Experience*

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 100 ΡΙΟ ΠΟΥΡΝΕΝ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΟΝ ΖΑΤΙ ΥΛΗ ΤΩΝ  
 ΕΠΙΤΗΕ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΛΛΕ

only a normal subject & not with abnormal at all. I don't know

*[Handwritten signature]*

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